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CAESAR

DE BELLO CIVILI

H. AWDRY

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CAESAR'S DE BELLO CIVILI

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AN EASY ABRIDGMENT OF

CAESAR'S

DE BELLO CIVILI

BY

H. AWDRY, M.A.

ASSISTANT MASTER AT WELLINGTON COLLEGE

WITH MAPS AND PLANS

LONDON
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PREFACE

In this Abridgment I am attempting to supply a want I have myself experienced of a book intermediate between mere Beginners' detached Selections and full-fledged Caesar, with his sentences half-apage long, and his long passages of Oratio Obliqua. There is a stage at which boys can do twenty or thirty lines of easy Latin, and can gain a certain amount of good from a connected passage of history. The latter point is ignored by detached Selections, and unsatisfactorily supplied by a connection given in English notes. I am aiming at a book about the standard of or slightly easier than Nepos, but in better Latin.

With these objects in view three main methods have been employed. I have shortened—

- (I) Caesar's long sentences by dropping out clauses. This has been done even where the clauses are not in themselves hard; for the difficulty and still more the dulness of Caesar to boys frequently *merely* consist in his length.
- (2) His long passages in Oratio Obliqua. These have been cut down to some ten or a dozen lines at the most—generally to three or four.
 - (3) His history of the different events of the war.

I have endeavoured so far to shorten these that a boy shall not be hammering away hopelessly at one story for the whole of a term. This was especially necessary in the Ilerda Campaign.

The Latin of Section I. is, I fear, considerably harder than the rest of the book. It is, however, very much easier than the full text of Caesar; and it seemed impossible to omit altogether the causes of the war and the position of affairs at its outbreak.

The chronology rendered impossible the insertion of the siege of Massilia as a consecutive story. This siege can, however, if desired, be taken as one story by reading together § iii. 57-end, § v., and § vii.

Caesar's campaigns alone, not those of his lieutenants, have been followed. Thus the disasters and noble death of Curio in Africa, and the able manceuvres by which Domitius Calvinus prevented Metellus Scipio from effecting a junction with Pompeius at Dyrrhachium, have been omitted. Caesar's doings in South Spain against Varro, and his difficulties at Alexandria, are also left out.

The text is, in the main, the Oxford text, though I have introduced many changes into it from the text of Moberly's *Caesar*, a book to which I am very much indebted.

Beyond shortening I have not altered; and the words I have been compelled to insert here and there for the sake of connection probably do not amount to two lines in the whole book.

In the Biographical Index names which only occur once are, as a rule, marked 'unimportant,' to save diligent boys the great waste of time in hunting them out in their Classical Dictionaries. Places are not put into this Index, for most of them occur in one or other of the maps; and, moreover, every boy ought to have an Atlas available, though not perhaps a Classical Dictionary.

In the spelling of Latin words Smith's Dictionary has been followed, and in the spelling of names of places Kiepert's Atlas.

I have to thank many of my colleagues and other friends for much kind help, without which I should certainly not have presumed to edit a classical book.

Any criticisms and suggestions will be welcomed.

H. A.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE, 1888.

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ROMAN ARMY IN CAESAR'S TIME

Subdivisions of the Legion.—In Caesar's time the legion consisted of about 6000 men, all infantry, and armed with two pila ('javelins,' for throwing) and short sword, with shield and other defensive armour.

Its subdivisions were as follows:-

5

A legion contained 10 cohortes of 600 men each.

A cohors contained 3 manipuli of 200 men each.

A manipulus contained 2 centuriae or ordines of 100 men each.

As in our own regiments, these were generally short of 10 their proper strength.

Officers.—The officers were as follows:—

Legati, about 1 per legion, but not specially attached to the legion.

6 tribuni militum to each legion.

15

i centurio } to each century.

Colours.—The aquila (the silver eagle of the legion) was carried by an aquilifer under orders of the primipilus centurio (see below).

The signum (the colours of the century) was carried by a signifer. There were thus 60 of these in the legion.

Acies.—When arranged in order of battle (acies) the legion generally stood in three lines.

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- These were originally named as follows:—
 1st line, consisting of the youngest soldiers, Hastati.¹
 2d line, consisting of the next youngest soldiers, Principes.
 3d line (which was the most honourable), consisting of veterans, Triarii or Pilani.
- 20 Each line would thus contain 10 maniples and 20 centuries.

 Precedence.—The maniples were numbered from 1 to 10 in each line, the right being more honourable than the left. Thus the centurion who commanded the right centuria or ordo of No. 1 maniple was the senior centurion of the legion.

 35 He was called primipilus (or primi pili) centurio, or simply primipilus, was a member of the General's Consilium ('council of war'), and in his charge was the acquilifer with
 - ('council of war'), and in his charge was the aquilifer with his eagle. He had risen from the ranks, and was presumably the best soldier in the legion.
- The arrangement of the maniples and centuries in the Acies would have been something of the following kind:—

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 5 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- i.

A LEGION IN LINE OF BATTLE.

N.B. — represents a maniple; — a century; i. Hastati; ii. Principes;
iii. Triarii or Pilani. The maniples are numbered from right to left. * Primipilus;
† Primus Princeps; † Primus Hastatus.

- Principes, and Triarii or Pilani, the distinction between them having disappeared; yet these three names still remained, showing the seniority of the maniples and of the centurions who commanded them. So there was a
- Primus, secundus, tertius, etc., centurio pilanorum (the primus being called primipilus or primi pili centurio).
 Primus, secundus, tertius, etc., centurio principum (the primus being called primus princeps).
 - ¹ It may be convenient to remember that these three lines happen to go in alphabetical order.

Primus, secundus, tertius, etc., centurio hastatorum (the primus being called **primus hastatus**). 60

And there were honesti, or superiores ordines, 'senior or honourable centuries,' and inferiores ordines, 'junior centuries.'

Ordinem ducere, 'to command a century,' means 'to be a centurion.'

Allied Troops.—The legions strictly consisted of Roman citizens only; but there were also in the army allied troops from the subject provinces at least equal in number to the Roman legionaries. These provided—

- (1.) All the cavalry, divided into turmae, 'squadrons,' and 70 decuriae, 'troops,' whose officers were a praefectus alae with decuriones and optiones under him.
 - (2.) Two kinds of infantry, viz.:-
 - (a) Auxilia, or alarii pedites, divided into the same sized bodies as the legionaries, each brigade 75 being under six praefecti sociorum, who corresponded to the tribuni militum.
 - (b) Levis armatura, 'light-armed troops,' consisting of archers, slingers, javelin men, and others, supplied mainly by the provinces which were 80 famous for these kinds of troops respectively, e.g. Cretan archers, Balearic slingers, etc.

Cæsar conquered Gaul in a great measure by means of Gallic recruits, just as we re-took Delhi in the Mutiny largely by the help of Sikh and Punjabi troops. He had many 85 Gauls among his legionaries; and he had one legion, the 'Alauda' (Lark), entirely composed of Gauls.

Some Differences from a Modern Army.—The Roman army depended for its efficiency much more on the discipline of its soldiers than on the military skill of its superior 90 officers. The legati were brought from Rome by the general, and had very probably, like the general himself,

110

seen little or no military service before. Even the tribuni militum were, some of them, elected by the people at Rome, 95 and were therefore not at all necessarily good soldiers. So in *Bell. Gall.* i. 39, we find that just before the campaign against Ariovistus 'a panic began among the tribuni militum, the praefecti, and others, who had followed Caesar from Rome out of friendship, and had no great experience in military matters, and extended from them to the more experienced, the soldiers and centurions and cavalry officers.' The finest soldiers in the Roman army were therefore the veteran soldiers, the centurions, and the corresponding cavalry officers.

105 English Equivalents.—The nearest English equivalent for

Legio . . is Division.
Cohors . . is Battalion.
Centuria or Ordo is Company.
Legatus . . is General.
Tribunus Militum is Colonel.
Turma . . is Squadron.

Decuria . . is Squadron

(Manipulus and Centurio have no English equivalents which are not misleading.)

Acies=Line of battle.
Agmen=Column of route.

Praefecti is a general word for 'officers.' Sometimes a special word is added to show the nature of the officer's command, as, praefecti alae, 'commanders of the cavalry,' 120 praefecti sociorum, 'colonels of the allies,' etc.

Evocati were old soldiers who had served their time (twenty campaigns in the infantry or ten in the cavalry), but were induced to rejoin by higher pay and exemption from certain camp duties. No English equivalent; 'veterans' 125 or 'time-expired men' is the nearest.

Expediti, 'in fighting order,' *i.e.* relieved of their sarcina (see below). When soldiers went into battle, or were sent on some rapid service, they left their sarcina with the baggage.

Sarcina, 'pack,' carried on the back by Roman soldiers. 130 It weighed forty-five lbs. at least (some say seventy lbs.), and comprised corn for a fortnight, entrenching tools, several stakes for the Vallum ('palisade'), cooking utensils, etc. How ever Roman soldiers can have managed to march as they did with such a load on them is a mystery. It rendered 135 them wonderfully independent and self-sufficient however, and secure against surprises. A Roman soldier was ready to turn his hand to anything. It was as much his business to fortify a camp, or make a road, or build a bridge, as to fight a battle. He was an engineer as well as an ordinary 140 soldier.

Note.—An apology is needed for introducing English equivalents. This is, however, in my opinion much better than to allow boys to use absolutely misleading terms. Thus legio does not correspond to 'regiment' in point of 145 numbers or arrangement so much as to 'Division.' A tribunus militum was not a captain but a colonel. The utterly vague ideas attaching in boys' minds to ordo and to legatus destroy all accuracy of thought, and had better be corrected by something at any rate approximating to 150 Indeed, though these terms do not of course the truth. accurately correspond, it is surprising that our army terms will so nearly represent the Roman ones. It would however be a pity to translate centurio by 'captain,' for though in the numbers under his command he came near a 155 captain, in position and method of appointment he corresponded to a serieant.

In this description of the army Ramsay (Rom. Antiq.) has been the authority mainly followed.

1

ROMAN MAGISTRATES, RANKS, ETC., IN CAFSAR'S TIME.

- Two Consules, who were the Heads of the State; Presidents of the Senate; and in former times Commanders of the Army. They might not be less than 43 years old.
- Eight Practors, who were Judges. Caesar increased their number to 16. Necessary age 40.
- Four Aediles, who were the Heads of Police at Rome, and had charge of the streets and public buildings. Two of them, called *Curule* Aediles (see below), had to provide the Great Roman Games at their own expense, and if they did this with magnificence it won them popularity, and thus helped them on to the higher offices. Necessary age 37.
- N.B.—The Sella Curulis was a Chair of State inlaid with ivory and used by 15 the Senior Magistrates, who might originally only be Patricians, viz the Consuls, Praetors, two of the Aediles, and the Censors. These were therefore called Magistratus Curules.
 - Twenty Quaestores, who were Paymasters. Caesar increased their number to 40. Necessary age 27.
 - Ten Tribuni Plebis, who were the Presidents of the Comitia Tributa, 'Assembly of the Common People.' They had power to veto, 'forbid,' any motion proposed in the Senate or elsewhere. This right was called Intercessio. They were originally appointed to protect the Common People against the Patrician

25

Magistrates. Their persons were sacred, *i.e.* it was sacrilege to harm them.

All the above Magistrates held office for one year.1

Besides these there were:

- Two Censores, elected once in 5 years, and holding office for 3° $1\frac{1}{2}$ year. They chose the Senate out of men who had been Quaestors, and could degrade any one from it, and had charge of the Public Morals.
- Fifteen Augures or Haruspices, holding office for life. They had certain religious duties in connection with the 35 omens, and by declaring them unfavourable could prevent an election being held or a law passed on any day they liked. In times of violence their declaration was however often disregarded.
- Fifteen Pontifices, holding office for life. They were Priests, 40 and at their head was a Pontifex Maximus, which office Caesar now held. It was in virtue of this office that he was able to revise the Calendar.
- Proconsules and Propraetores were senators sent to govern
 Roman Provinces after having held the office of 45
 Consul or Praetor at home.
- Dictator, a Supreme Magistrate with absolute power of life and death, occasionally appointed for a short time in seasons of extreme danger or difficulty. Common in early Rome, but really abolished after the second 50 Punic war, the Senatus Consultum Ultimum (described in Introduction, p. xxiii, 181) being used instead. Sulla and Caesar were the only dictators after the second Punic war, and their dictatorship was of a different kind, and contrary to the Constitution. The dictator named a

Magister Equitum, 'Master of the Horse,' who was his second in command.

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¹ They could not be re-elected to the same office till after an interval of 10 years.

The **Senate** consisted of about 600 men, holding office for life, unless degraded by the Censors. They were chosen by the Censors out of those who had held the office of Quaestor. After the Civil War Caesar enlarged the Senate to 900, and admitted many distinguished Provincials to it,—a very unpopular measure.

The Equites or Equester Ordo were the next Rank at Rome below the Senators. They were all those who had over 400,000 sesterces (rather more than £3,300), but who were not in the Senate. They were made up of two classes: (1) Young nobles not yet old enough to be Quaestors and thus get into the Senate; (2) Rich merchants and the like. These last were the principal moneyed class at Rome, and farmed the taxes of the Provinces.

Names connected with Italy and the Provinces.

75 All Italians were now Cives Romani, Roman citizens, and paid no tribute. Italy did not as yet include the whole of Cisalpine Gaul till Caesar made it do so after the Civil War.

The Provinciae Romanae, 'Roman Provinces,' were governed
by Proconsuls and Propraetors sent from Rome.
These were not paid, but were allowed to exact
money for certain expenses out of the Province
they governed. Bad governors were thus strongly
tempted to use this power to enrich themselves by
extortion. Caesar regulated and improved this
system, protecting the Provincials.

The taxes of the Provinces were farmed by Companies
(Societates) of Roman Equites. These paid down
a certain sum to the Roman Treasury, and then
exacted the taxes by means of their Collectors

(Publicani, the 'Publicans' of the New Testament). Anything that was over they might keep for themselves. This system naturally tempted them to extort as much as ever they could, and oppress the Provinces.

The country towns of Italy were called Coloniae, Municipia and Praefecturae. These had a Town Council of their own, the councillors being called Decuriones. At their head there were sometimes two Duumviri, who were natives of the place, sometimes a Prae-100 fectus sent from Rome. The Praefecti, however, had probably ceased to be sent before Caesar's time. See Note on § ii. 49.

Rights of Roman Citizenship.

A Roman citizen might not be scourged or put to death without a trial; and had the right of voting for, and 105 being elected to, magistracies at Rome. He also paid no tribute. Some favoured towns in the Provinces, under various names, had a part of these rights.

(Authority in the main Ramsay, Roman Antiquities.)

LIFE OF CAESAR.

C. Julius Caesar, the greatest name in history, was born in B.C. 100. He was of a noble family, but from the first adopted the side of the Popular party, the Radicals of that day. C. Marius, who 5 had saved Rome from the Cimbri and Teutones, the barbarians from Germany, and who was Caesar's uncle by marriage, had formerly been the leader of this party. When Sulla overthrew the Marians and became Dictator in 81, he ordered the young Caesar to divorce his wife, who 10 was the daughter of Cinna, the friend and colleague of Marius; but Caesar courageously refused to do so; and being at last put on the Proscription list by Sulla he had to fly from Italy to save his life.

After Sulla's death he lived for the most part at Rome 15 till the end of B.C. 63, the year of Catilina's conspiracy. During this time he was quietly and gradually gaining influence and popularity; more especially by prosecuting two or three of the nobles who had misgoverned their Provinces. He also supported Pompeius when the People, 20 in spite of the Senate's opposition, granted him special military commands, first in 67 against the Pirates and afterwards in 66 against Mithridates.

In B.C. 63 he was elected Praetor, the chief judge of Rome; and in this year he strongly, but unsuccessfully, 25 advised the Senate not to put to death without a trial

the Catilinarian conspirators,—advice which led some to suspect that he was implicated in the conspiracy. In 62 he was governor of Spain, where he gained some military successes. In 60 he joined Pompeius and Crassus in what is called the first Triumvirate, a private agreement by which these three powerful men combined the parties which each of them headed in the State; they were thus able to carry, in spite of the Senate's opposition, any measures which they wished. Their parties were as follows:—Pompeius was supported by the 35 soldiers; Crassus, the richest man in Rome, by the merchants and moneyed classes; and Caesar by the common people.

Caesar was an earnest patriot. Throughout his whole life he kept one object in view, the reform of the Roman government. He was quite willing to carry out this reform 40 with the Senate's help if they themselves would consent to be reformed; and to this end his prosecution of the governors of Provinces, and his opposition to the unconstitutional measure of putting citizens to death without a trial had been directed. The Senate must be cured of 45 their own corruption, and must be taught to govern justly at home, and not to oppress the Roman Provinces abroad; but as they seemed incurable he was at last obliged to break with them.

This happened in B.C. 59. In that year he was elected 50 Consul, and invited the Senate to discuss some important projects of reform which he brought forward.

Headed by Cato and Caesar's colleague Bibulus, they would not discuss but merely obstructed; so Caesar at length set them aside and proposed his remaining measures to the people without consulting them at all. Among these laws thus carried were the important body of laws called the 'Leges Juliae,' a constitution in themselves, which provided for good government if they had only been carried out. For this, however, they had 60

to wait till Caesar had overthrown the Senate's corrupt government in the Civil War.

In B.C. 58 Caesar departed to Gaul, of which he had been appointed by the People governor for five years.

65 Caesar in Gaul.

B.O. 08-50.
(1) State of Parties at Rome.

B.O. 08-85.

B.O. 08-85.

Caesar's daughter Julia, of whom both of them were very fond; their united parties appeared able to keep the Senate's bad government in 70 check during Caesar's absence.

But in 56 the party of the Senate, headed by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, grew powerful again, and Domitius promised if made consul to deprive Caesar of his Province. To prevent this the Triumviri met at Luca in North Etruria and 75 renewed their alliance: Pompeius and Crassus gained the consulship for 55 (beating Domitius), and Caesar's Province was renewed to him for another five years.

His government of Gaul was thus to last ten years from B.C. 58 to 49 inclusive; and it may be divided into four periods as follows:—

- grations which were threatening the Roman districts of Transalpine Gaul by driving back the Helvetii to their home in Switzerland, and Ariovistus and his invading 85 Germans across the Rhine.
 - (2.) From 57 to 53 he subdued, one after another, the separate parts of Gaul, and invaded Germany and Britain, and crushed local insurrections wherever they arose.
- (3.) In 52 he put down the rebellion of all Gaul combined 90 under Vercingetorix. On this occasion, with 50,000 Romans, he successfully besieged and reduced 80,000 of the enemy in Alesia, repulsing at the same time the attack of 250,000 Gauls from without.
- (4.) In 51 and 50 he organised this vast Province in such 95 a just and generous way that though they had made such a

desperate struggle for liberty the Gauls became at once contented and loyal, and stood by him without making a single attempt at insurrection throughout the Civil War, which broke out in 49.

Meanwhile, since the conference of the Triumviri at 100 Luca in 56, a great change had been taking place at Rome. Pompeius was no longer Caesar's friend. In 54 Julia died, and thus the relationship between them was dissolved; in 53 Rome: breach with tionship between the breach with tionship bet

Pompeius was a thoroughly well-meaning, honest man, far above the average morality of the nobles of his time. and a good soldier; but he had made his way Character of to the top at an early age, in a time of bad Pompeius. generals, either in wars which required no more than average military capacity, or wars, like those against the Pirates and against Mithridates,—the former by far the greatest exploit of his life—which needed a fairly good 120 general who could not be bribed. His real ability, however, was not extraordinary either in war or politics; and when in 52 he found that Caesar was as great as himself he grew jealous. The grounds of his opposition to Caesar are most truly and faithfully described in Bell. Civ. 125 i. 4.1 'Pompeius himself, talked over by Caesar's enemies, and unwilling that any one should be as great as himself. had entirely broken off his friendship with him, and had become reconciled to their common enemies, most of ¹ In present text (partly), Sect. i. 65.

130 whom he himself had brought down upon Caesar in the days of their relationship; conscience-stricken, moreover, at his own dishonourable conduct about the two legions, whom he had diverted from their expedition to Asia to support his own influence and supremacy, he was eager to 135 have recourse to arms.'

Caesar's tone, when speaking of Pompeius, is never bitter, though often (as here) sad. He seldom, however, writes bitterly of any one. He was too great a man to be spiteful.

In politics the difference between these two men was 140 simply this:—Pompeius, like Caesar, saw the hopeless corruption of the present government, and wished for reform, but had not the moral courage to face the bitter opposition he must meet with in carrying it out; while Caesar was determined to have it whatever it might cost 145 him. Caesar would willingly have yielded the first place to Pompeius if he could but have secured him as a helper in the necessary reform.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Pompeius, though living at Rome, had been, since B.C. 54, the governor of Spain, where he had three armies, com150 manded by Afranius, Petreius, and Varro; and his governorship would last after Caesar's had ceased. He had himself
proposed that Caesar should be allowed to become a candidate for the consulship of B.C. 48 without coming to
Rome; so that, if elected—as he was certain to be—Caesar
155 would come back to Rome as consul when he gave up his
army and Province at the end of B.C. 49. But his enemies
in the Senate were determined to prevent this if possible by
forcing him to come back to Rome before the elections, and
then impeaching him for misgovernment in his Province,
160 and getting him banished. In B.C. 50, through his friend, the
tribune Curio, he offered to give up his army before the proper

time provided Pompeius would do the same; but though the Senate voted this, Pompeius was unwilling. So the Senate next tried to weaken Caesar by voting that both Pompeius and Caesar should contribute a legion for a war against the 165 Parthians to avenge the death of Crassus. Caesar at once complied and sent his legion; but Pompeius now asked Caesar to give back to him a legion he had lent him when hard pressed by Vercingetorix. Thus two legions were taken from Caesar's army, none from Pompeius'. They 170 were not sent to Parthia, but were stationed at Capua, and put under Pompeius' command.

In the first week of B.C. 49, the question of recalling Caesar was brought up again in the Senate. Caesar made offers even greater than those he had made outbreak, through Curio; but the Senate, headed by the Consul Lentulus, would not even consider them, and simply voted his recall. Two of the ten tribunes, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, put their veto on this unjust proceeding, but the Senate disregarded the veto and 180 passed the decree 1 (i. 5), Dent operam consules, etc., ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat, 'let the consuls and other magistrates see that the State receives no damage.' By passing this decree (known as the Senatus Consultum Ultimum) they declared the State to be in danger, and 185 gave the magistrates power of life and death. It was regarded by the two tribunes as a sentence of death on themselves, and they fled to Caesar in disguise, who at once crossed the Rubicon and invaded Italy; and thus the Civil War began.

Caesar did not wish for war, but merely for a sweeping reform of the Constitution, which he meant to carry out, peaceably if possible, as consul. He had only one legion with him when he started to invade motives.

Italy, though he might just as easily have had more. But 195

¹ In present text, § i. 77.

the Senate drove him into war; for they had got the impression that his army was disaffected and would not follow him against them (probably because Labienus, his best officer, was so, and at once deserting him became his bitterest 200 enemy); and they thought that Caesar dare not really attack them. Throughout the whole war he was constantly trying to get Pompeius to come to a personal interview with him, fully believing that if he did so, he could persuade him to settle their differences and to carry out 205 the reform together with him. But this interview Pompeius always refused.

CIVIL WAR.

Events of B.C. 49.—Pompeius could make no resistance, as all the towns declared for Caesar, who, in sixty days, marched down the east coast of Italy, captured but set free again L. Domitius at Corfinium, and reaching Brundisium, forced Pompeius to cross to Greece. He then returned to Rome, and, after a few days, started to reduce Pompeius' veteran armies in Spain, beginning on his way thither the siege of Massilia, which town the released 215 L. Domitius defended.

In Spain, after great danger, he outmanœuvred and captured the veteran armies of Afranius and Petreius at Ilerda; and then reduced Varro, in South Spain, without a battle; sailed from Gades to Tarraco; went back by land to 220 Rome, finishing the siege of Massilia on the way: stayed at Rome eleven days for business, and was elected consul for B.C. 48; and then joined his army at Brundisium.

Any other campaign in history pales before this one: no general ever did so much in one year. The mere dis-225 tance he travelled, if measured on a map from point to point, omitting windings, is over 3700 miles, an average of over ten miles a day, of which less than 600 were by sea; to say nothing of his driving before him the most celebrated general of the day, conquering Italy and Spain (including the capture of four armies and of the almost impregnable 230 fortress of Massilia), nor of the important business he got through in a few days at Rome.

In B.C. 48 he crossed with half his army in January from Brundisium to Epirus, and spent the whole winter encamped opposite Pompeius. In spring Antonius and the rest of his army joined him.

He blockaded Pompeius, who had twice as many troops, at Petra, near Dyrrhachium. When Pompeius broke the blockade, Caesar retreated to Thessaly, where he gained the decisive victory of Pharsalia, on 9th August. He 240 then pursued Pompeius to Egypt, but found on arriving there, in October, that he had been murdered by the Egyptians. All the next winter he was besieged in Alexandria by the Egyptians, and here the De Bello Civili leaves him.

In B.C. 47 he defeated the Egyptians; went through Syria, and thence by sea to Cilicia; then to Pontus, where he defeated Pharnaces (Veni, vidi, vici!); and back to Rome, where he quelled a mutiny of his troops; thence through Sicily to Africa.

In B.C. 46 he defeated the Pompeians at Thapsus in Africa, their chiefs Metellus Scipio, Afranius, Petreius, and King Juba being all killed in the flight, while Cato committed suicide at Utica. Labienus, Varus, and the two sons of Pompeius alone survived. 255 Returned to Rome by Sardinia.

In B.C. 45 he carried out the immensely important work of reforming the calendar, and then fought B.C. 45. his last battle at Munda in South Spain, the remaining Pompeian chiefs, except Sex. Pompeius, all perishing.

In B.C. 44 he was murdered on the Ides of B.C. 44. March.

CAESAR'S GENERALSHIP.

Caesar's success in war was due to three causes-

- (1.) His extraordinary speed.
- 265 (2.) His extreme care in always fortifying his positions, and his skill in field-works and engineering.
- (3) His personal courage; his kindness to and popularity with his soldiers. Few generals have ever been so careful of their soldiers' lives, and he is never tired of re270 cording with praise the brave exploits of individual soldiers.

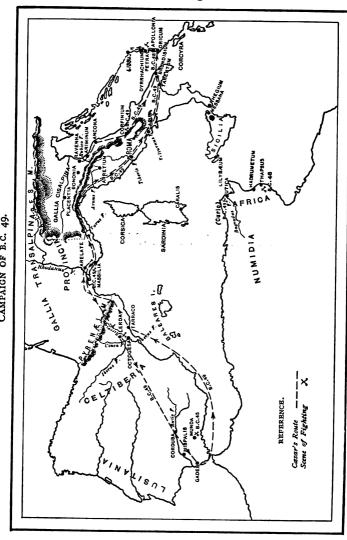
In the Civil War his success was largely due to his clemency. Pompeius' party threatened to treat as enemies all who remained neutral, and invariably butchered Caesar's friends whenever they fell into their hands. Caesar killed 275 no one except in battle; allowed no pillaging of any kind; released all prisoners of war; and even restored their property to prominent enemies, e.g. to Labienus his baggage, to L. Domitius his money-chest. Many of those whom he released, no doubt, like Domitius, Afranius, Petreius, 280 and others, fought against him again; yet he gained more than he lost by the goodwill his clemency won him, though in the end it alienated from him those who had followed him only in the hope of plunder. When the war was over he treated Pompeians and Caesarians both alike.

AUTHORITIES.

[The chief authorities for this period of history are Caesar's de Bello Gallico and de Bello Civili; Hirtius' de Bello Alexandrino; the anonymous de Bello Africano and de Bello Hispaniensi (which are bound up with the Oxford text of Caesar); Lucan's poem Pharsalia; Suetonius' Life of Julius Caesar; Plutarch's Lives of Cicero, Pompeius, Caesar, etc.; but above all Cicero's Letters.]

MAPS AND PLANS

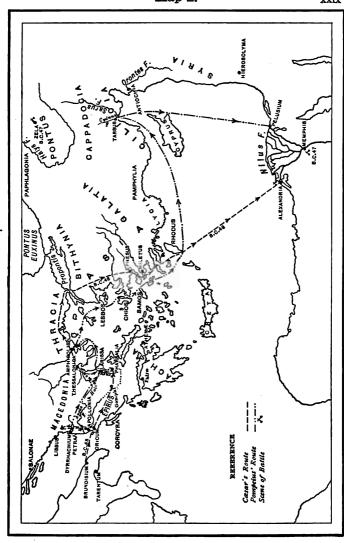




CURIO: defeated and slain near Utica in Africa. C. ANTONIUS: defeated in Illyricum.

Rome, Massilia, I Rome, Brundisium.





Campaign of 48: Brundisium, Apollonia, Dyrrhachiun and Petra, Pharsalia; pursued Pompeius to Amphipolis, Asia, Egypt.



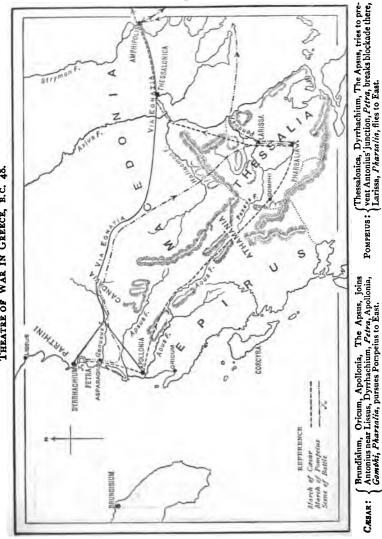
CONQUEST OF ITALY B.C. 49, IMMEDIATELY ON OUTBREAK OF WAR.



D. Cæsar's Trenches for making Sicoris fordable. E. Place where Afranius surrendered. F. Fabius' Camp.

A. Cæsar's Camp.
B. Fabius' two Bridges.
C. Cæsar's new Bridge.





[For Maps 6 and 7, see pp. 117 and 128.]

SECTION I.

EVENTS OF B.C. 50. DISTRIBUTION OF CAESAR'S ARMY AT THE TIME OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR, JANUARY 49. IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

Measures to conciliate Gaul.

INSEQUENS annus, L. Paulo, C. Marcello consulibus, nullas res Galliae habet magno opere gestas.

Caesar honorifice civitates appellando, principes maximis praemiis afficiendo, nulla onera injungendo, defessam tot adversis proeliis Galliam conditione parendi meliore facile 5 in pace continuit.

Ipse, hibernis peractis, contra consuetudinem in Italiam quam maximis itineribus est profectus.

Brilliant welcome in Cisalpine Gaul.

Exceptus est Caesaris adventus ab omnibus municipiis et coloniis incredibili honore atque amore. Tum primum 10 enim veniebat ab illo universae Galliae bello. Nihil relinquebatur, quod ad ornatum portarum, itinerum, locorum omnium, qua Caesar iturus erat, excogitari poterat. Cum liberis omnis multitudo obviam procedebat, hostiae omnibus locis immolabantur, tricliniis stratis fora templaque 15 occupabantur, ut vel exspectatissimi triumphi laetitia praecipi posset.

B.O. 50. Doubts of Labienus' fidelity.

T. Labienum Galliae togatae praefecit, quo majore commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem. Ipse 20 tantum itinerum faciebat, quantum satis esse ad mutationem locorum propter salubritatem existimabat. Ibi quamquam crebro audiebat Labienum ab inimicis suis sollicitari, tamen neque de Labieno credidit quicquam, neque, contra senatus auctoritatem ut aliquid faceret, potuit adduci.

Two legions withdrawn from Caesar on plea of a Parthian war.

legio una a Cn. Pompeio, altera C. Caesare mitterentur; neque obscure hae duae legiones uni Caesari detrahuntur. Nam Cn. Pompeius legionem primam, quam ad Caesarem miserat, confectam ex delectu provinciae Caesaris, eam tamquam ex suo numero dedit. Caesar tamen, cum de voluntate minime dubium esset adversariorum suorum, Pompeio legionem remisit, et suo nomine quintam decimam, quam in Gallia citeriore habuerat, ex senatus consulto jubet tradi. In ejus locum tertiam decimam legionem in Italiam mittit, quae praesidia tueatur, ex quibus praesidiis quinta decima deducebatur. Ipse exercitui distribuit hiberna: C. Trebonium cum legionibus quattuor in Belgio collocat; C. Fabium cum totidem in Haeduos deducit.

They are given to Pompeius.

Ipse in Italiam profectus est. Quo cum venisset, cog-40 noscit per C. Marcellum consulem legiones duas ab se remissas, quae ex senatusconsulto deberent ad Parthicum bellum duci, Cn. Pompeio traditas, atque in Italia retentas esse. Hoc facto, quamquam nulli erat dubium, quidnam contra Caesarem pararetur, tamen Caesar omnia patienda esse statuit, quoad sibi spes aliqua relinqueretur jure potius 45 disceptandi, quam belli gerendi.

Caesar's ultimatum rejected, and the tribunes who supported him insulted.

Litteris a Caesare consulibus redditis, aegre ab his impetratum est summa tribunorum plebis contentione, ut in senatu recitarentur; ut vero ex litteris ad senatum referretur, impetrari non potuit. Vocibus Lentuli consulis, terrore praesentis exercitus minis amicorum Pompeii plerique compulsi, inviti et coacti, Scipionis sententiam sequuntur: Ut ante certam diem Caesar exercitum dimittat; si non faciat, eum adversus rem publicam facturum videri. Intercedit M. Antonius, Q. Cassius, tribuni plebis. Refertur 55 confestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur sententiae graves: ut quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime ab inimicis Caesaris collaudatur. Misso ad vesperum senatu, omnes, qui sunt ejus ordinis, a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius atque in posterum confirmat; 60 segniores castigat atque incitat. Multi undique ex veteribus Pompeii exercitibus spe praemiorum atque ordinum evocantur; multi ex duabus legionibus, quae sunt traditae a Caesare, arcessuntur. Completur urbs tribunis, centurionibus. evocatis. 65

Causes of Pompeius' hostility.

Ipse Pompeius ab inimicis Caesaris incitatus, et quod neminem secum dignitate exaequari volebat, totum se ab ejus amicitia averterat, et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam redierat; simul infamia duarum legionum permotus, quas ab itinere Asiae Syriaeque ad suam potentiam domi-70 natumque converterat, rem ad arma deduci studebat.

B.O. 49. Violent decree on January 7.

His de causis aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate. Decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus-consultum, quo, nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in 75 desperatione omnium salutis, nunquam ante discessum est: Dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique consulares sunt ad urbem, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat. Haec senatusconsulta perscribuntur ante diem septimum Idus Januarias.

The tribunes fly to Caesar.

80 Profugiunt statim ex urbe tribuni plebis, seseque ad Caesarem conferunt. Is eo tempore erat Ravennae, exspectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa, si qua hominum aequitate res ad otium deduci posset.

Pompeius' war preparations.

Proximis diebus habetur senatus extra urbem. Pompeius 85 senatus virtutem constantiamque collaudat; copias suas exponit: legiones habere sese paratas decem; praeterea cognitum compertumque sibi, alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites, neque iis posse persuaderi, ut eum defendant aut sequantur saltem. De reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia delectus habeantur; pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur. Tota Italia arma imperantur, pecuniae a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia divina humanaque jura permiscentur.

Caesar appeals to his soldiers.

Quibus rebus cognitis, Caesar apud milites contionatur.

95 Omnium temporum injurias inimicorum in se commemorat:
a quibus deductum ac depravatum Pompeium queritur invidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cujus ipse honori

et dignitati semper faverit, adjutorque fuerit. Novum in re publica introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur. Hortatur, 100 cujus imperatoris ductu novem annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint, plurimaque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacaverint, ut ejus existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. Conclamant legionis tertiae decimae, quae aderat, milites, (hanc enim initio 105 tumultus evocaverat; reliquae nondum venerant), sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.

SECTION II.

Jan. and Feb., B.C. 49.

OUTBREAK OF WAR. RAPID SUCCESSES OF CAESAR. CORFINIUM. BRUNDISIUM. POMPEIUS ABANDONS ITALY. (See Maps 1 and 3.)

Caesar invades Italy with one legion.

Cognita militum voluntate, Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur, ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, convenit; reliquas legiones ex hibernis evocat, et subsequi jubet. Ab Arimino M. Antonium cum cohortibus quinque 5 Arretium mittit; ipse Arimini cum duabus subsistit, ibique delectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam singulis cohortibus occupat.

Desertions to Caesar in Umbria and Picenum.

Interea certior factus Iguvium Thermum praetorem cohortibus quinque tenere, oppidum munire, omniumque esse
10 Iguvinorum optimam erga se voluntatem, Curionem cum
tribus cohortibus, quas Pisauri et Arimini habebat, mittit.
Cujus adventu cognito, diffisus municipii voluntate Thermus
cohortes ex urbe educit, et profugit. Milites in itinere ab
eo discedunt, ac domum revertuntur. Curio summa om15 nium voluntate Iguvium recipit. Quibus rebus cognitis,
confisus municipiorum voluntatibus, Caesar cohortes legionis tertiae decimae ex praesidiis deducit, Auximumque proficiscitur; quod oppidum Attius cohortibus introductis

tenebat, delectumque toto Piceno, circummissis senatoribus, habebat. Adventu Caesaris cognito, decuriones Auximi ad 20 Attium Varum frequentes conveniunt: docent sui judicii rem non esse; neque se neque reliquos municipes pati posse C. Caesarem, imperatorem bene de re publica meritum, tantis rebus gestis, oppido moenibusque prohiberi: proinde habeat rationem posteritatis et periculi sui. Quorum 25 oratione permotus, Varus praesidium, quod introduxerat, ex oppido educit, ac profugit. Hunc ex primo ordine pauci Caesaris consecuti milites consistere cogunt: commisso proelio deseritur a suis Varus; nonnulla pars militum domum discedit; reliqui ad Caesarem perveniunt; atque una 30 cum iis deprehensus L. Pupius, primi pili centurio, adducitur, qui hunc eundem ordinem in exercitu Cn. Pompeii antea duxerat. At Caesar milites Attianos collaudat. Pupium dimittit, Auximatibus agit gratias, seque eorum facti memorem fore pollicetur. 35

Flight of Pompeians from Rome to Capua.

Quibus rebus Romam nuntiatis, tantus repente terror invasit, ut, cum Lentulus consul ad aperiendum aerarium venisset ad pecuniam Pompeio ex senatusconsulto proferendam, protinus, aperto sanctiore aerario, ex urbe profugeret.

The Treasury left full.

Caesar enim adventare, jam jamque et adesse ejus equites 40 falso nuntiabantur. Hunc Marcellus collega et plerique magistratus consecuti sunt. Cn. Pompeius, pridie ejus diei ex urbe profectus, iter ad legiones habebat, quas a Caesare acceptas in Apulia hibernorum causa disposuerat. Delectus intra urbem intermittuntur: nihil citra Capuam tutum esse 45 omnibus videtur. Capuae primum sese confirmant et colligunt, delectumque colonorum habere instituunt.

Maps 1 and 3.

First opposition at Corfinium by L. Domitius.

Auximo Caesar progressus omnem agrum Picenum percurrit. Cunctae earum regionum praefecturae liben-50 tissimis animis eum recipiunt, exercitumque ejus omnibus rebus juvant. Etiam Cingulo, quod oppidum Labienus constituerat, suaque pecunia exaedificaverat, ad eum legati veniunt, quaeque imperaverit, se cupidissime facturos polli-Milites imperat: mittunt. Interea legio duode-55 cima Caesarem consequitur. Cum his duabus Asculum Picenum proficiscitur. Id oppidum Lentulus Spinther decem cohortibus tenebat; qui, Caesaris adventu cognito, profugit ex oppido, cohortesque secum abducere conatus a magna parte militum deseritur. Cum paucis ad Domi-60 tium Ahenobarbum Corfinium magnis itineribus pervenit, Caesaremque adesse cum legionibus duabus nuntiat. Domitius per se circiter viginti cohortes Alba, ex Marsis et Pelignis, et finitimis ab regionibus coëgerat. Recepto Asculo expulsoque Lentulo, Caesar conquiri milites, qui ab 65 eo discesserant, delectumque institui jubet; ipse unum diem ibi rei frumentariae causa moratus Corfinium contendit. Eo cum venisset, cohortes quinque, praemissae a Domitio ex oppido, pontem fluminis interrumpebant, qui erat ab oppido millia passuum circiter tria. Ibi cum antecursoribus 70 Caesaris proelio commisso celeriter Domitiani a ponte repulsi se in oppidum receperunt. Caesar, legionibus traductis, ad oppidum constitit, juxtaque murum castra posuit.

Re cognita, Domitius ad Pompeium in Apuliam peritos regionum, magno proposito praemio, cum litteris mittit, qui 75 petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat. Interim suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit, certasque cuique partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit; militibus in contione agros ex suis possessionibus pollicetur, quaterna in singulos jugera, et pro rata parte centurionibus evocatisque.

80 Caesar tribus primis diebus castra magnis operibu

munire, et ex finitimis municipiis frumentum comportare, reliquasque copias exspectare instituit. Eo triduo legio octava ad eum venit, cohortesque ex novis Galliae delectibus viginti duae, equitesque ab rege Norico circiter trecenti: quorum adventu altera castra ad alteram oppidi partem 85 ponit. His castris Curionem praefecit: reliquis diebus oppidum vallo castellisque circumvenire instituit. Cujus operis maxima parte effecta, eodem fere tempore missi a Pompeio revertuntur.

Domitius, trying to desert his men,

Litteris perlectis, Domitius dissimulans in concilio pronuntiat Pompeium celeriter subsidio venturum, hortaturque eos, ne animo deficiant, quaeque usui ad defendendum oppidum sint, parent. Ipse arcano cum paucis familiaribus suis colloquitur, consiliumque fugae capere constituit. Cum vultus Domitii cum oratione non consentiret, res diutius tegi dissimularique non potuit. Pompeius enim rescripserat: Sese rem in summum periculum deducturum non esse, neque suo consilio aut voluntate Domitium se in oppidum Corfinium contulisse.

is given up with the town by them.

Divulgato Domitii consilio, milites; qui erant Corfinii, 100 prima vesperi secessionem faciunt, atque ita inter se per tribunos militum centurionesque atque honestissimos sui generis colloquuntur: Obsideri se a Caesare; opera munitionesque prope esse perfectas; ducem suum Domitium, cujus spe atque fiducia permanserint, projectis omnibus, 105 fugae consilium capere: debere se suae salutis rationem habere. Itaque omnes uno consilio Domitium productum in publicum circumsistunt et custodiunt, legatosque ex suo numero ad Caesarem mittunt: Sese paratos esse portas aperire, quaeque imperaverit, facere, et L. Domitium vivum 110 in ejus potestatem tradere

Maps 1 and 3. Caesar enters next day,

Quibus rebus cognitis, Caesar, etsi magni interesse arbitrabatur quam primum oppido potiri, tamen veritus, ne militum introitu et nocturni temporis licentia oppidum 115 diriperetur, eos, qui venerant, collaudat, atque in oppidum dimittit; portas murosque asservari jubet. Ipse iis operibus, quae facere instituerat, milites disponit, non certis spatiis intermissis, ut erat superiorum dierum consuetudo, sed perpetuis vigiliis stationibusque, ut contingant 120 inter se atque omnem munitionem expleant; tribunos militum et praefectos circummittit, atque hortatur, non solum ab eruptionibus caveant, sed etiam singulorum hominum occultos exitus asservent. Neque vero tam remisso ac languido animo quisquam omnium fuit qui ea 125 nocte conquieverit; tanta erat summae rerum exspectatio.

and dismisses the prisoners unharmed.

Caesar, ubi luxit, omnes senatores senatorumque liberos, tribunos militum equitesque Romanos ad se produci jubet. Erant senatorii ordinis L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Vibullius Rufus, Sex. Quintilius Varus quaestor, L. 130 Rubrius; praeterea filius Domitii, aliique complures adolescentes, et magnus numerus equitum Romanorum et decurionum, quos ex municipiis Domitius evocaverat. Hos omnes productos a contumeliis militum conviciisque prohibet; pauca apud eos loquitur, quod sibi a parte eorum 135 gratia relata non sit pro suis in eos maximis beneficiis; dimittit omnes incolumes. Sestertium sexagies, quod advexerat Domitius atque in publicum deposuerat, allatum ad se ab duumviris Corfiniensibus Domitio reddit. Milites Domitianos sacramentum apud se dicere jubet, atque eo 140 die castra movet, justumque iter conficit, septem omnino dies ad Corfinium commoratus, et per fines Marrucinorum, Frentanorum, Larinatium in Apuliam pervenit.

Caesar pursues Pompeius to Brundisium,

Pompeius, iis rebus cognitis, quae erant ad Corfinium gestae, Luceria proficiscitur Canusium, atque inde Brundisium. Copias undique omnes ex novis delectibus ad se 145 cogi jubet; servos, pastores armat, atque his equos attribuit: ex iis circiter trecentos equites conficit. Caesar Brundisium cum legionibus sex pervenit, veteranis tribus, reliquis, quas ex novo delectu confecerat atque in itinere compleverat: Domitianas enim cohortes protinus a Corfinio 150 in Siciliam miserat. Reperit consules Dyrrhachium profectos cum magna parte exercitus, Pompeium remanere Brundisii cum cohortibus viginti. Neque certum inveniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa ibi remansisset, an inopia navium; veritusque, ne Italiam ille dimittendam 155 non existimaret, exitus Brundisini portus impedire instituit.

and tries to block up the harbour.

Qua fauces erant angustissimae portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris jaciebat, quod his locis erat vadosum mare. Longius progressus rates quaternis ancoris ex quattuor angulis destinabat, ne fluctibus move- 160 rentur; has terra atque aggere integebat. Contra haec Pompeius naves magnas onerarias, quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat, adornabat. Ibi turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat, easque multis tormentis et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appellebat. Sic 165 quotidie utrimque eminus fundis, sagittis, reliquisque telis pugnabatur.

Vain attempt to treat.

Atque haec ita Caesar administrabat, ut conditiones pacis dimittendas non existimaret. Itaque Caninium Rebilum legatum, familiarem necessarium que Scribonii Libonis, 170 mittit ad eum colloquii causa; mandat, ut Libonem de

Maps 1 and 3.

concilianda pace hortetur; in primis, ut ipse cum Pompeio colloqueretur, postulat: magnopere sese confidere demonstrat, si ejus rei sit potestas facta, fore, ut aequis 175 conditionibus ab armis discedatur; cujus rei magnam partem laudis atque existimationis ad Libonem perventuram, si illo auctore atque agente ab armis sit discessum. Libo a colloquio Caninii digressus ad Pompeium proficiscitur. Paulo post renuntiat, quod consules absint, sine illis de 180 compositione agi non posse. Ita saepius rem frustra tentatam Caesar aliquando dimittendam sibi judicat, et de bello agendum.

Pompeius sails to Dyrrhachium,

Prope dimidia parte operis a Caesare effecta, diebusque in ea re consumptis novem, naves a consulibus Dyrrhachio 185 remissae, quae priorem partem exercitus eo deportaverant, Brundisium revertuntur. Pompeius, sive operibus Caesaris permotus, sive etiam quod ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, adventu navium profectionem parare incipit; et, quo facilius impetum Caesaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione 190 milites oppidum irrumperent, portas obstruit, vicos plateasque inaedificat, fossas transversas viis praeducit, atque ibi sudes stipitesque praeacutos defigit. Haec levibus cratibus terraque inaequat; aditus autem atque itinera duo, quae extra murum ad portum ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus, 195 atque eis praeacutis, praesepit. His paratis rebus, milites silentio naves conscendere jubet; expeditos autem ex evocatis sagittariis funditoribusque raros in muro turribusque disponit. Hos certo signo revocare constituit, cum omnes milites naves conscendissent, atque iis expedito loco ac-200 tuaria navigia relinquit.

with the loss of two ships.

Brundisini, Pompeianorum militum injuriis atque ipsius

Pompeii contumeliis permoti, Caesaris rebus favebant. Itaque, cognita Pompeii profectione, concursantibus illis atque in ea re occupatis, vulgo ex tectis significabant. Per quos re cognita, Caesar scalas parari militesque armari 205 jubet, ne quam rei gerendae facultatem dimittat. Pompeius sub noctem naves solvit. Qui erant in muro custodiae causa collocati, eo signo, quod convenerat, revocantur, notisque itineribus ad naves decurrunt. Milites, positis scalis, muros ascendunt, sed moniti a Brundisinis, ut vallum 210 caecum fossasque caveant, subsistunt, et, longo itinere ab his circumducti, ad portum perveniunt, duasque naves cum militibus, quae ad moles Caesaris adhaeserant, scaphis lintribusque deprehendunt, deprehensas excipiunt.

SECTION III.

Spring B.C. 49.

CAESAR GOES TO ROME; THENCE, AFTER COM-MENCING THE SIEGE OF MASSILIA, MARCHES AGAINST POMPEIUS' VETERAN ARMIES IN SPAIN. (See Maps 1 and 4.)

CAESAR in praesentia Pompeii insequendi rationem omittit; in Hispaniam proficisci constituit: duumviris municipiorum omnium imperat, ut naves conquirant, Brundisiumque deducendas curent.

Curio drives Cato out of Sicily.

Mittit in Siciliam Curionem propraetorem cum legionibus quattuor; eundem, cum Siciliam recepisset, protinus in Africam traducere exercitum jubet. Obtinebat Siciliam M. Cato. Africam sorte Tubero obtinere debebat. Cato in Sicilia naves longas veteres reficiebat, novas civitatibus 10 imperabat. Haec magno studio agebat. In Lucanis Bruttiisque per legatos suos civium Romanorum delectus habebat, equitum peditumque certum numerum a civitatibus Siciliae exigebat. Quibus rebus paene perfectis, adventu Curionis cognito, queritur in contione, sese projectum ac 15 proditum a Cn. Pompeio, qui, omnibus rebus imparatissimus, non necessarium bellum suscepisset, et ab se reliquisque in senatu interrogatus, omnia sibi esse ad bellum apta ac parata confirmavisset. Haec in contione questus, ex provincia fugit.

Attius Varus, a Pompeian, seizes on Africa and excludes the rightful owner.

Tubero, cum in Africam venisset, invenit in provincia 20 cum imperio Attium Varum, qui ad Auximum, ut supra demonstravimus, amissis cohortibus, protinus ex fuga in Africam pervenerat, atque eam sua sponte vacuam occupaverat. Hic venientem Uticam navibus Tuberonem portu atque oppido prohibet; neque affectum valetudine filium 25 exponere in terram patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.

Caesar at Rome; speech to the Senate.

His rebus confectis, Caesar, ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima municipia deducit: ipse ad Urbem proficiscitur. Coacto senatu injurias inimicorum 30 commemorat: docet, se nullum extraordinarium honorem appetisse, sed, exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus, eo fuisse contentum. Patientiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset; in quo jacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset. Injuriam in 35 eripiendis legionibus praedicat, crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis tribunis plebis; conditiones a se latas, expetita colloquia et denegata commemorat. Pro quibus rebus orat ac postulat, rem publicam suscipiant atque una secum administrent. Sin timore defugiant, illis se oneri 40 non futurum, et per se rem publicam administraturum. Legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere.

Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; sed, qui mitterentur, non reperiebantur, maximeque timoris causa pro se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pompeius enim 45 discedens ab Urbe in senatu dixerat, eodem se habiturum loco, qui Romae remansissent, et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent.

Map 1. Departure to Gaul.

Caesar, frustra diebus aliquot consumptis, ne reliquum 50 tempus omittat, infectis iis, quae agere destinaverat, ab Urbe proficiscitur, atque in ulteriorem Galliam pervenit. Quo cum venisset, cognoscit missum in Hispaniam a Pompeio Vibullium Rufum, quem paucis ante diebus Corfinio captum ipse dimiserat; profectum item Domitium 55 ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas servis, libertis, colonis suis compleverat.

Massilia admits Domitius, shuts its gates against Caesar,

Massilienses portas Caesari clauserant; Albicos, barbaros homines, qui montes supra Massiliam incolebant, ad se vocaverant; frumentum ex finitimis regionibus atque ex 60 omnibus castellis in urbem convexerant; armorum officinas in urbe instituerant; muros, classem, portas, reficiebant. Evocat ad se Caesar Massiliensium quindecim primos. Cum his agit, ne initium inferendi belli ab Massiliensibus oriatur: debere eos Italiae totius auctoritatem sequi. 65 Cujus orationem legati domum referunt, atque ex auctoritate haec Caesari renuntiant: Intelligere se divisum esse populum Romanum in duas partes. Neque sui judicii neque suarum esse virium discernere, utra pars justiorem habeat causam. Principes vero esse earum partium Cn. 70 Pompeium et C. Caesarem, patronos civitatis. neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare aut urbe aut portibus recipere debere. Haec dum inter eos aguntur, Domitius navibus Massiliam pervenit, atque ab iis receptus urbi praeficitur: summa ei belli administrandi permittitur.

who leaves D. Brutus and Trebonius to besiege it; and sends C. Fabius on into Spain.

75 Quibus injuriis permotus, Caesar legiones tres Massiliam adducit; turres vineasque ad oppugnationem urbis agere, naves longas Arelate numero duodecim facere instituit. Quibus effectis armatisque diebus triginta, a qua die materia caesa est, adductisque Massiliam, his D. Brutum praeficit, C. Trebonium legatum ad oppugnationem Massiliae re-80 linquit. Dum haec parat atque administrat, C. Fabium legatum cum legionibus tribus, quas Narbone circumque ea loca hiemandi causa disposuerat, in Hispaniam praemittit; celeriterque saltus Pyrenaeos occupari jubet, qui eo tempore ab L. Afranio legato praesidiis tenebantur. Re-85 liquas legiones, quae longius hiemabant, subsequi jubet. Fabius, ut erat imperatum, adhibita celeritate, praesidium ex saltu dejecit, magnisque itineribus ad exercitum Afranii contendit.

SECTION IV.

Spring and Summer B.C. 49.

SPANISH CAMPAIGN AT ILERDA ON THE SICORIS, AGAINST AFRANIUS AND PETREIUS. CAESAR'S CRITICAL POSITION OWING TO FLOODS. (See Maps 1 and 4.)

The Pompeians unite their forces at Ilerda.

ADVENTU L. Vibullii Rufi, quem a Pompeio missum in Hispaniam demonstratum est, Afranius et Petreius et Varro, legati Pompeii, officia inter. se partiuntur; ut Petreius ex Lusitania per Vettones cum omnibus copiis ad Afranium 5 proficiscatur, Varro cum iis, quas habebat, legionibus omnem ulteriorem Hispaniam tueatur. His rebus constitutis, celeriter Petreius per Vettones ad Afranium pervenit. Constituunt communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam propter ipsius loci opportunitatem gerere.

Petreii duae, praeterea scutatae citerioris provinciae, et cetratae ulterioris Hispaniae cohortes circiter octoginta, equitum utriusque provinciae circiter quinque millia.

Caesar borrows from his officers.

Caesar legiones in Hispaniam praemiserat. Simul a 15 tribunis militum centurionibusque mutuas pecunias sumpsit; has exercitui distribuit. Quo facto duas res consecutus est, quod pignore animos centurionum devinxit, et largitione redemit militum voluntates.

Fabius finitimarum civitatum animos litteris nuntiisque tentabat. In Sicori flumine pontes effecerat duos, inter se 20 distantes millia passuum quattuor. His pontibus pabulatum mittebat, quod ea, quae citra flumen fuerant, superioribus diebus consumpserat. Hoc idem fere atque eadem de causa Pompeiani exercitus duces faciebant; crebroque inter se equestribus proeliis contendebant.

Arrival of Caesar. He fortifies a camp by stratagem.

Eo biduo Caesar cum equitibus nongentis, quos sibi praesidio reliquerat, in castra pervenit. Postero die omnibus copiis, triplici instructa acie, ad Ilerdam proficiscitur, et sub castris Afranii constitit, et ibi paulisper sub armis moratus facit aequo loco pugnandi potestatem. Potestate 30 facta, Afranius copias educit, et in medio colle sub castris constituit. Caesar ubi cognovit per Afranium stare, quominus proelio dimicaretur, ab infimis radicibus montis intermissis circiter passibus quadringentis castra facere constituit; et, ne in opere faciendo milites repentino 35 hostium incursu exterrerentur, atque opere prohiberentur, vallo muniri vetuit, quod eminere et procul videri necesse erat, sed a fronte contra hostem pedum quindecim fossam fieri iussit. Prima et secunda acies in armis, ut ab initio constituta erat, permanebat; post hos opus in occulto a 40 tertia acie fiebat. Sic omne prius est perfectum, quam intelligeretur ab Afranio castra muniri. Sub vesperum Caesar intra hanc fossam legiones reducit, atque ibi sub armis proxima nocte conquiescit. Postero die singula latera castrorum singulis attribuit legionibus munienda, fossasque 45 ad eandem magnitudinem perfici jubet; reliquas legiones in armis expeditas contra hostem constituit. Afranius Petreiusque, terrendi causa atque operis impediendi, copias suas ad infimas montis radices producunt, et proelio laces-Neque idcirco Caesar opus intermittit, confisus 50 praesidio legionum trium et munitione fossae. Illi non diu

Maps 1 and 4.

commorati, nec longius ab infimo colle progressi, copias in castra reducunt. Tertio die Caesar vallo castra communit; reliquas cohortes, quas in superioribus castris reliquerat, 55 impedimentaque ad se traduci jubet.

Unsuccessful attack on a hill.

Erat inter oppidum Ilerdam et proximum collem, ubi castra Petreius atque Afranius habebant, planities circiter passuum trecentorum, atque in hoc fere medio spatio tumulus erat paulo editior: quem si occupasset Caesar et 60 communisset, ab oppido et ponte et commeatu omni, quem in oppidum contulerant, se interclusurum adversarios con-Hoc sperans legiones tres ex castris educit, acieque in locis idoneis instructa, unius legionis antesignanos procurrere, atque occupare eum tumulum jubet. 65 Qua re cognita, celeriter, quae in statione pro castris erant Afranii cohortes, breviore itinere ad eundem occupandum locum mittuntur. Contenditur proelio, et, quod prius in tumulum Afraniani venerant, nostri repelluntur, atque, afiis submissis subsidiis, terga vertere, seque ad signa legionum 70 recipere coguntur. Genus erat pugnae militum illorum, ut magno impetu primo procurrerent, audacter locum caperent, ordines suos non magnopere servarent, rari dispersique pugnarent; si premerentur, pedem referre et loco excedere non turpe existimarent. Haec tamen ratio nostros per-75 turbavit insuetos hujus generis pugnae: ipsi enim suos ordines servare, neque ab signis discedere, neque sine gravi causa eum locum, quem ceperant, dimitti censuerant oportere. Itaque, perturbatis antesignanis, legio, quae in eo cornu constiterat, locum non tenuit, atque in proximum 80 collem sese recepit. Caesar, paene omni acie perterrita, quod praeter opinionem consuetudinemque acciderat, cohortatus suos legionem nonam subsidio ducit; hostem insolenter atque acriter nostros insequentem supprimit,

rursusque terga vertere, seque ad oppidum Ilerdam recipere, et sub muro consistere cogit. Illi eum tumulum, pro quo 85 pugnatum est, magnis operibus munierunt, praesidiumque ibi posuerunt.

Caesar's bridges washed away.

Accidit etiam repentinum incommodum biduo, quo haec gesta sunt. Tanta enim tempestas cooritur, ut nunquam illis locis majores aquas fuisse constaret. Tum autem ex 90 omnibus montibus nives proluit, ac summas ripas fluminis superavit, pontesque ambo, quos C. Fabius fecerat, uno die interrupit. Quae res magnas difficultates exercitui Caesaris attulit. Castra enim, ut supra demonstratum est, cum essent inter flumina duo, Sicorim et Cincam, spatio 95 millium triginta, neutrum horum transiri poterat, necessarioque omnes his angustiis continebantur.

He is cut off from supplies.

Neque civitates, quae ad Caesaris amicitiam accesserant, frumentum supportare, neque ii, qui pabulatum longius progressi erant, interclusi fluminibus reverti, neque maximi 100 commeatus, qui ex Italia Galliaque veniebant, in castra pervenire poterant.

At exercitus Afranii omnium rerum abundabat copia. Multum erat frumentum provisum et convectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni provincia comportabatur; 105 magna copia pabuli suppetebat. Harum omnium rerum facultates sine ullo periculo pons Ilerdae praebebat, et loca trans flumen integra, quo omnino Caesar adire non poterat. Hae permanserunt aquae dies complures. Conatus est Caesar reficere pontes; sed nec magnitudo fluminis permittebat, neque ad ripam dispositae cohortes adversariorum perfici patiebantur.

Maps 1 and 4. Attack on his convoy.

Nuntiatur Afranio magnos commeatus, qui iter habebant ad Caesarem, ad flumen constitisse. Ad hos opprimen115 dos cum omni equitatu tribusque legionibus Afranius de nocte proficiscitur, imprudentesque ante missis equitibus aggreditur. Celeriter tamen sese Galli equites expediunt, proeliumque committunt. Hi, dum pari certamine res geri potuit, magnum hostium numerum pauci sustinu120 ere; sed, ubi signa legionum appropinquare coeperunt, paucis amissis, sese in montes proximos conferunt. Hoc pugnae tempus magnum attulit nostris ad salutem momentum: nacti enim spatium se in loca superiora receperunt. Desiderati sunt eo die sagittarii circiter ducenti, equites pauci, 125 calonum atque impedimentorum non magnus numerus.

The Pompeians count their chickens.

His tamen omnibus annona crevit. Jamque ad denarios quinquaginta in singulos modios annona pervenerat, et militum vires inopia frumenti deminuerat, atque incommoda in dies augebantur. Haec Afranius Petreiusque et eorum 130 amici pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. Multa rumor fingebat, ut paene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus litteris nuntiisque Romam perlatis, magni domum concursus ad Afranium, magnae gratulationes fiebant; multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficis-135 cebantur; alii, ut principes talem nuntium attulisse, alii, ne eventum belli exspectasse aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.

Caesar crosses the river by coracles and builds a new bridge.

Cum in his angustiis res esset, atque omnes viae ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque obsiderentur, nec pontes 140 perfici possent, imperat militibus Caesar, ut naves faciant,

cujus generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniae docuerat. Carinae ac prima statumina ex levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium, viminibus contextum, coriis integebatur. Has perfectas carris junctis devehit noctu millia passuum a castris viginti duo, militesque his 145 navibus flumen transportat, continentemque ripae collem improviso occupat. Hunc celeriter, priusquam ab adversariis sentiatur, communit. Huc legionem postea trajicit, atque ex utraque parte pontem institutum biduo perficit. Ita commeatus, et qui frumenti causa processerant, tuto ad 150 se recipit, et rem frumentariam expedire incipit. Eodem die equitum magnam partem flumen trajecit. Qui, inopinantes pabulatores et sine ullo dissipatos timore aggressi, magnum numerum jumentorum atque hominum intercipiunt; unamque cohortem, quae temere ante ceteras extra aciem 155 procurrerat, seclusam ab reliquis circumveniunt, atque interficiunt; incolumesque cum magna praeda eodem ponte in castra revertuntur.

SECTION V.

Summer B.C. 49.

NAVAL VICTORY OF THE CAESARIANS AT MASSILIA. (See Map 1.)

Domitius and the Massilians attack D. Brutus' fleet.

Dum haec ad Ilerdam geruntur, Massilienses, usi L. Domitii consilio, naves longas expediunt numero septemdecim, quarum erant undecim tectae. Multa huc minora navigia addunt, ut ipsa multitudine nostra classis terreatur. 5 Magnum numerum sagittariorum, magnum Albicorum, de quibus supra demonstratum est, imponunt, atque hos praemiis pollicitationibusque incitant. Certas sibi deposcit naves Domitius, atque has colonis pastoribusque, quos secum adduxerat, complet. Sic omnibus rebus instructa 10 classe, magna fiducia ad nostras naves procedunt, quibus praeerat D. Brutus. Hae ad insulam, quae est contra Massiliam, stationes obtinebant. Erat multo inferior numero navium Brutus; sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros, antesignanos, centuriones, Caesar ei classi 15 attribuerat, qui sibi id muneris depoposcerant. ferreas atque harpagones paraverant, magnoque numero pilorum, tragularum, reliquorumque telorum se instruxerant. Ita, cognito hostium adventu, suas naves ex portu educunt; cum Massiliensibus confligunt. Pugnatum utrimque est 20 fortissime atque acerrime: neque multum Albici nostris virtute cedebant, homines asperi et montani, exercitati in armis.

The Massilians' superior seamanship defeated by grappling-irons.

Ipsi Massilienses, et celeritate navium et scientia gubernatorum confisi, nostros eludebant, impetusque eorum excipiebant, et, producta longius acie circumvenire nostros, 25 aut pluribus navibus adoriri singulas, aut remos transcurrentes detergere, si possent, contendebant; cum propius erat necessario ventum, ab scientia gubernatorum atque artificiis ad virtutem montanorum confugiebant. Nostri, quum minus exercitatis remigibus minusque peritis gubernatoribus ute- 30 bantur, tum etiam gravitate et tarditate navium impediebantur. Itaque, dum locus comminus pugnandi daretur, aequo animo singulas binis navibus objiciebant, atque, injecta manu ferrea et retenta utraque nave, diversi pugnabant, atque in hostium naves transcendebant, et, magno 35 numero Albicorum et pastorum interfecto, partem navium deprimunt; nonnullas cum hominibus capiunt, reliquas in portum compellunt. Eo die naves Massiliensium cum iis. quae sunt captae, intereunt novem.

SECTION VI.

Summer B.C. 49.

CAESAR'S SUCCESSES AT ILERDA. HE OUT-MANŒVURES AND REDUCES AFRANIUS' AND PETREIUS' ARMIES. (See Maps 1 and 4.)

The Pompeians resolve to retreat to the Iberus, being alarmed at Caesar's success.

Hoc primum Caesari ad Ilerdam nuntiatur; simul perfecto ponte, celeriter fortuna mutatur. Illi, perterriti virtute equitum, minus libere, minus audacter vagabantur. Postremo et plures intermittere dies, et praeter consuetudinem 5 omnium noctu constituerant pabulari.

Caesar makes a ford,

Transit etiam cohors Illurgavonensis ad eum, et signa ex statione transfert. Magna celeriter commutatio rerum. Perfecto ponte, expedita re frumentaria, multae longinquiores civitates ab Afranio desciscunt, et Caesaris amicitiam sequuntur. Quibus rebus perterritis animis adversariorum, Caesar, ne semper magno circuitu per pontem equitatus esset mittendus, nactus idoneum locum, fossas pedum triginta in latitudinem complures facere instituit, quibus partem aliquam Sicoris averteret, vadumque in eo flumine 15 efficeret. His paene effectis, magnum in timorem Afranius Petreiusque perveniunt, ne omnino frumento pabuloque intercluderentur, quod multum Caesar equitatu valebat.

Itaque constituunt ipsi iis locis excedere, et in Celtiberiam bellum transferre. Hoc inito consilio, toto flumine Ibero naves conquirere, et Octogesam adduci jubent. Id erat 20 oppidum positum ad Iberum, milliaque passuum a castris aberat viginti. Ad eum locum fluminis navibus junctis pontem imperant fieri, legionesque duas flumen Sicorim traducunt, castraque muniunt vallo pedum duodecim.

Qua re per exploratores cognita, summo labore militum 25 Caesar, continuato diem noctemque opere in flumine avertendo, huc jam reduxerat rem, ut equites, etsi difficulter atque aegre fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen transire; pedites vero tantummodo humeris ac summo pectore exstarent; et cum altitudine aquae, tum etiam 30 rapiditate fluminis, ad transeundum impedirentur. Sed tamen eodem fere tempore pons in Ibero prope effectus nuntiabatur, et in Sicori vadum reperiebatur. Jam vero eo magis illi maturandum iter existimabant. Itaque duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus Ilerdae praesidio relictis, omnibus 35 copiis Sicorim transeunt, et cum duabus legionibus, quas superioribus diebus traduxerant, castra conjungunt.

by which his cavalry pursue and delay them,

Relinquebatur Caesari nihil, nisi ut equitatu agmen adversariorum male haberet et carperet. Pons enim ipsius magnum circuitum habebat, ut multo breviore itinere illi 40 ad Iberum pervenire possent. Equites ab eo missi flumen transeunt, et, cum de tertia vigilia Petreius atque Afranius castra movissent, repente sese ad novissimum agmen ostendunt, et, magna multitudine circumfusa, morari atque iter impedire incipiunt.

Prima luce ex superioribus locis, quae Caesaris castris erant conjuncta, cernebatur equitatus nostri proelio novissimos illorum premi vehementer, ac nonnunquam sustinere extremum agmen, atque interrumpi

Maps 1 and 4. till the infantry, crossing breast deep,

Totis vero castris milites circulari, et dolere hostem ex mani-bus dimitti, bellum necessario longius duci; centuriones tribunosque militum adire, atque obsecrare, ut per eos Caesar certior fieret, ne labori suo neu periculo parceret: Paratos esse sese, posse et audere ea transire flumen, qua traductus esset 55 equitatus. Quorum studio et vocibus excitatus Caesar, etsi timebat tantae magnitudinis flumini exercitum objicere, conandum tamen atque experiendum judicat. Itaque infirmiores milites ex omnibus centuriis deligi jubet, quorum aut animus aut vires videbantur sustinere non posse: hos 60 cum legione una praesidio castris relinquit. Reliquas legiones expeditas educit; magnoque numero jumentorum in flumine supra atque infra constituto, traducit exercitum. Pauci ex his militibus vi fluminis abrepti ab equitatu excipiuntur ac sublevantur; interiit tamen nemo. Traducto 65 incolumi exercitu, copias instruit, triplicemque aciem ducere incipit.

overtake them the same day,

Ac tantum fuit in militibus studii, ut, millium sex ad iter addito circuitu, magnaque ad vadum fluminis mora interposita, eos, qui de tertia vigilia exissent, ante horam 70 diei nonam consequerentur. Quos ubi Afranius procul visos cum Petreio conspexit, nova re perterritus, locis superioribus constitit, aciemque instruit. Caesar in campis exercitum reficit, ne defessum proelio objiciat. Rursus conantes progredi insequitur et moratur. Illi necessario 75 maturius, quam constituerant, castra ponunt.

and make them halt before reaching the mountains.

Suberant enim montes, quos intra se recipiebant, ut equitatum effugerent Caesaris, praesidiisque in angustiis collocatis, exercitum itinere prohiberent; ipsi sine periculo ac timore

Iberum copias traducerent. Quod fuit illis conandum, atque omni ratione efficiendum; sed totius diei pugna atque 80 itineris labore defessi rem in posterum distulerunt. Caesar quoque in proximo colle castra ponit. Media circiter nocte iis, qui adaquandi causa longius a castris processerant, ab equitibus correptis, fit ab his certior Caesar, duces adversariorum silentio copias castris educere. Quo cognito, 85 signum dari jubet, et vasa militari more conclamari. Illi, exaudito clamore, veriti, ne noctu impediti sub onere confligere cogerentur, iter supprimunt, copiasque in castris Postero die Petreius cum paucis equitibus occulte ad exploranda loca proficiscitur. Hoc idem fit ex oo castris Caesaris. Mittitur L. Decidius Saxa cum paucis, qui loci naturam perspiciat. Uterque idem suis renuntiat: quinque millia passuum proxima intercedere itineris campestris; inde excipere loca aspera et montuosa; qui prior has angustias occupaverit, ab hoc hostem prohiberi nihil os esse negotii. Petreius et Afranius prima luce postridie constituunt proficisci.

Caesar's apparent retreat.

Caesar, exploratis regionibus, albente caelo, omnes copias castris educit; magnoque circuitu nullo certo itinere exercitum ducit. Nam quae itinera ad Iberum atque Octogesam 100 pertinebant, castris hostium oppositis tenebantur. Ipsi erant transcendendae valles maximae ac difficillimae; saxa multis locis praerupta iter impediebant, ut arma per manus necessario traderentur, militesque inermi sublevatique alii ab aliis magnam partem itineris conficerent. Sed hunc 105 laborem recusabat nemo, quod eum omnium laborum finem fore existimabant, si hostem Ibero intercludere, et frumento prohibere potuissent. Ac primo Afraniani milites visendi causa laeti ex castris procurrebant, contumeliosisque vocibus prosequebantur; necessarii victus inopia coactos fugere. 110

Maps 1 and 4.

atque ad Ilerdam reverti. Erat enim iter a proposito diversum, contrariamque in partem iri videbatur.

Right wheel.

Sed ubi paulatim retorqueri agmen ad dextram conspexerunt, jamque primos superare regionem castrorum animum
115 adverterunt, nemo erat adeo tardus aut fugiens laboris,
quin statim castris exeundum atque occurrendum putaret.
Conclamatur ad arma, atque omnes copiae, paucis praesidio relictis cohortibus, exeunt, rectoque ad Iberum itinere
contendunt. Erat in celeritate omne positum certamen,
120 utri prius angustias montesque occuparent: sed exercitum
Caesaris viarum difficultates tardabant, Afranii copias equitatus Caesaris insequens morabatur.

He wins the race for the mountains,

Confecit prior iter Caesar, atque, ex magnis rupibus nactus planitiem, in hac contra hostem aciem instruit.

125 Afranius, cum ab equitatu novissimum agmen premeretur, et ante se hostem videret, collem quendam nactus, ibi constitit. Ex eo loco quattuor cetratorum cohortes in montem, qui erat in conspectu omnium excelsissimus, mittit. Hunc magno cursu concitatos jubet occupare, eo consilio, ut ipse ocdem omnibus copiis contenderet, et, mutato itinere, jugis Octogesam perveniret. Hunc cum obliquo itinere cetrati peterent, conspicatus equitatus Caesaris in cohortes impetum facit; nec minimam partem temporis equitum vim cetrati sustinere potuerunt, omnesque ab eis circumventi in con135 spectu utriusque exercitus interficiuntur.

but allows Afranius to encamp,

Erat occasio bene gerendae rei. Neque vero id Caesarem fugiebat, tanto sub oculis accepto detrimento, perterritum exercitum sustinere non posse; idque ex omnibus partibus ab eo flagitabatur. Concurrebant legati, centuriones, tribu-

nique militum: Ne dubitaret proelium committere: omni- 140 um esse militum paratissimos animos: Afranianos contra multis rebus sui timoris signa misisse.

resolving to reduce him without bloodshed.

Caesar in eam spem venerat, se sine pugna et sine vulnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re frumentaria adversarios interclusisset. Cur etiam secundo 145 proelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? Cur vulnerari pateretur optime de se meritos milites? Cur denique fortunam periclitaretur? Movebatur etiam misericordia civium, quos interficiendos videbat; quibus salvis atque incolumibus rem obtinere malebat. Hoc consilium Caesaris 150 plerisque non probabatur; milites vero palam inter se loquebantur, quoniam talis occasio victoriae dimitteretur. etiam cum vellet Caesar, sese non esse pugnaturos. Ille in sua sententia perseverat, et paulum ex eo loco digreditur, ut timorem adversariis minuat. Petreius atque Afranius, 155 oblata facultate, in castra sese referunt. Caesar, praesidiis in montibus dispositis, omni ad Iberum intercluso itinere, quam proxime potest hostium castris, castra communit. Postero die duces adversariorum vallum ex castris ad aquam ducere incipiunt, ut intra munitionem et sine timore 160 et sine stationibus aquari possent. Id opus inter se Petreius atque Afranius partiuntur, ipsique perficiendi operis causa longius progrediuntur.

The two armies fraternise.

Quorum discessu liberam nacti milites colloquiorum facultatem vulgo procedunt, et, quem quisque in castris 165 notum aut municipem habebat, conquirit atque evocat Primum agunt gratias omnes omnibus, quod sibi perterritis pridie pepercissent: eorum se beneficio vivere. Deinde imperatoris fidem quaerunt, rectene se illi sint commissuri, fidem ab imperatore de Petreii atque Afranii vita petunt, 170

Maps 1 and 4.

ne suos prodidisse videantur. Quibus confirmatis rebus, se statim signa translaturos confirmant, legatosque de pace primorum ordinum centuriones ad Caesarem mittunt. Interim alii suos in castra invitandi causa adducunt, alii 175 ab suis abducuntur, adeo ut una castra jam facta ex binis viderentur; compluresque tribuni militum et centuriones ad Caesarem veniunt, seque ei commendant.

Erant plena laetitia et gratulatione omnia, magnumque fructum suae pristinae lenitatis omnium judicio Caesar 180 ferebat, consiliumque ejus a cunctis probabatur.

Petreius ferociously drives out the Caesarians from the camp,

Quibus rebus nuntiatis Afranio, ab instituto opere discedit, seque in castra recipit. Petreius vero non deserit sese: armat familiam; cum hac et praetoria cohorte cetratorum barbarisque equitibus paucis, improviso ad vallum advolat: 185 colloquia militum interrumpit; nostros repellit a castris; quos deprendit, interficit. Reliqui coëunt inter se, et repentino periculo exterriti sinistras sagis involvunt, gladiosque destringunt, atque ita se a cetratis equitibusque defendunt, castrorum propinquitate confisi, seque in castra 190 recipiunt, et ab iis cohortibus, quae erant in statione ad portas, defenduntur.

Quibus rebus confectis, flens Petreius manipulos circumit militesque appellat, neu se, neu Pompeium, imperatorem suum, adversariis ad supplicium tradant, obsecrat. Fit 195 celeriter concursus in praetorium. Postulat, ut jurent omnes se exercitum ducesque non deserturos, neque prodituros, neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium capturos. Princeps in haec verba jurat ipse; idem jusjurandum adigit Afranium: subsequuntur tribuni militum 200 centurionesque. Centuriatim producti milites idem jurant.

and butchers those he catches.

Edicunt, penes quem quisque sit Caesaris miles, ut pro-

ducatur: productos palam in praetorio interficiunt. Sed plerosque ii, qui receperant, celant, noctuque per vallum emittunt. Sic terror oblatus a ducibus, crudelitas in supplicio, spem praesentis deditionis sustulit, mentesque 205 militum convertit, et rem ad pristinam belli rationem redegit.

Many Pompeians take service with Caesar.

Caesar, qui milites adversariorum in castra per tempus colloquii venerant, summa diligentia conquiri et remitti jubet. Sed ex numero tribunorum militum centurionum-210 que nonnulli sua voluntate apud eum remanserunt. Quos ille postea magno in honore habuit; centuriones in ampliores ordines, equites Romanos in tribunicium restituit honorem.

The Pompeians try to retreat to Ilerda,

Premebantur Afraniani pabulatione; aquabantur aegre. 215 Frumenti copiam legionarii nonnullam habebant, quod dierum viginti duorum ab Ilerda frumentum jussi erant efferre; cetrati auxiliaresque nullam, quorum erant et facultates ad parandum exiguae, et corpora insueta ad onera portanda. Itaque magnus eorum quotidie numerus ad 220 Caesarem perfugiebat. In his erat angustiis res: sed explicitius videbatur Ilerdam reverti, quod ibi paulum frumenti reliquerant.

but are intercepted.

Hoc probato consilio, ex castris proficiscuntur. Caesar, equitatu praemisso, qui novissimum agmen carperet atque 225 impediret, ipse cum legionibus subsequitur. Nullum intercedebat tempus, quin extremi cum equitibus proeliarentur. Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque paulatim proceditur, crebroque, ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt: ut

Maps 1 and 4.

230 tum accidit. Millia enim progressi quattuor, vehementiusque peragitati ab equitatu, montem excelsum capiunt; ibique una fronte contra hostem castra muniunt, neque jumentis onera deponunt. Ubi Caesaris castra posita et dimissos equites pabulandi causa animadverterunt, sese 235 subito proripiunt hora circiter sexta ejusdem diei, et spem nacti morae discessu nostrorum equitum iter facere incipiunt. Qua re animadversa, celeriter equitatus ad quotidianum itineris officium revertitur. Pugnatur acriter ad novissimum agmen, adeo ut paene terga convertant; 240 compluresque milites, etiam nonnulli centuriones, interficiuntur. Instabat agmen Caesaris, atque universum imminebat.

They encamp,

Tum vero, neque ad explorandum idoneum locum castris neque ad progrediendum data facultate, con-245 sistunt necessario, et procul ab aqua et natura iniquo loco castra ponunt. Sed iisdem de causis Caesar, quae supra sunt demonstratae, proelio amplius non lacessit.

and are enclosed by Caesar.

Conatur tamen eos vallo fossaque circumvenire, ut quam maxime repentinas eorum eruptiones demoretur. Illi inopia 250 pabuli adducti, omnia sarcinaria jumenta interfici jubent. In his operibus consiliisque biduum consumitur; tertio die magna jam pars operis Caesaris processerat. Illi impediendae rei causa, hora circiter nona signo dato, legiones educunt, aciemque sub castris instruunt. Caesar ab opere 255 legiones revocat, equitatum omnem convenire jubet, aciem instruit. Sed eisdem de causis, quae sunt cognitae, constituerat signa inferentibus resistere, prior proelio non lacessere. Producitur res, aciesque ad solis occasum continentur; inde utrique in castra discedunt. Postero

die munitiones institutas Caesar parat perficere; illi 260 vadum fluminis Sicoris tentare, si transire possent. Qua re animadversa, Caesar Germanos levis armaturae equitumque partem flumen trajicit, crebrasque in ripis custodias disponit.

Afranius capitulates.

Tandem omnibus rebus obsessi, quartum jam diem sine 265 pabulo retentis jumentis, aquae, lignorum, frumenti inopia, colloquium petunt. Audiente utroque exercitu, loquitur Afranius: Se victos confiteri: orare atque obsecrare, si qui locus misericordiae relinquatur, ne ad ultimum supplicium progredi necesse habeant. Haec quam potest demississime 270 et subjectissime exponit. Ad ea Caesar respondit: Provinciis excederent, exercitumque dimitterent; si id sit factum, se nociturum nemini. Hanc unam atque extremam esse pacis conditionem.

His army disbanded and their property restored.

Id vero militibus fuit pergratum et jucundum, ut ex 275 ipsa significatione cognosci potuit, ut, qui aliquid victi incommodi exspectavissent, ultro praemium missionis ferrent. Paucis cum esset in utramque partem verbis disputatum, res huc deducitur, ut ii, qui habeant domicilium aut possessiones in Hispania, statim, reliqui ad Varum 280 flumen dimittantur; ne quid eis noceatur, neu quis invitus sacramentum dicere cogatur a Caesare, cavetur. Caesar ex eo tempore, dum ad flumen Varum veniatur, se frumentum daturum pollicetur. Addit etiam, ut, quod quisque eorum in bello amiserit, quae sint penes milites suos, iis, 285 qui amiserant, restituatur; militibus, aequa facta aestimatione, pecuniam pro his rebus dissolvit.

SECTION VII.

Spring and Summer B.C. 49.

SIEGE OF MASSILIA BY TREBONIUS AND D. BRUTUS. ITS (1) TREACHEROUS, (2) GENUINE CAPITULATION. (See Map 1.)

Operations of Trebonius and vigour of the defenders.

Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, C. Trebonius legatus, qui ad oppugnationem Massiliae relictus erat, duabus ex partibus aggerem, vineas, turresque ad oppidum agere instituit. Pars ea, quae ad arcem pertinet, loci natura et 5 valle altissima munita longam et difficilem habet oppugnationem. Ad ea perficienda opera C. Trebonius magnam jumentorum atque hominum multitudinem ex omni Provincia vocat; vimina materiamque comportari jubet. Quibus comparatis rebus, aggerem in altitudinem pedum 10 octoginta exstruit. Sed tanti erant antiquitus in oppido omnium rerum ad bellum apparatus, tantaque multitudo tormentorum, ut eorum vim nullae contextae viminibus vineae sustinere possent. Asseres enim pedum duodecim, cuspidibus praefixi, atque hi maximis ballistis missi per 15 quattuor ordines cratium in terra defigebantur. pedalibus lignis conjunctis inter se porticus integebantur, atque hac agger inter manus proferebatur. tudo operum, altitudo muri atque turrium, multitudo tormentorum omnem administrationem tardabat: tum crebrae 20 per Albicos eruptiones fiebant ex oppido, ignesque aggeri

et turribus inferebantur; quae facile nostri milites repellebant, magnisque ultro illatis detrimentis, eos, qui eruptionem fecerant, in oppidum rejiciebant.

Nasidius reinforces the Massilian fleet.

Interim L. Nasidius, ab Cn. Pompeio cum classe navium sedecim, in quibus paucae erant aeratae, subsidio missus, 25 praemissa clam navicula, Domitium Massiliensesque de suo adventu certiores facit; eosque magnopere hortatur, ut rursus cum Bruti classe, additis suis auxiliis, confligant. Massilienses post superius incommodum veteres ad eundem numerum ex navalibus productas naves refecerant, summa- 30 que industria armaverant, piscatoriasque adjecerant atque contexerant, ut essent ab ictu telorum remiges tuti: has sagittariis tormentisque compleverunt. Tali modo instructa classe, nacti idoneum ventum ex portu exeunt, et Tauroënta, quod est castellum Massiliensium, ad Nasidium perveniunt. 35 Dextra pars Massiliensibus attribuitur, sinistra Nasidio. Eodem Brutus contendit, aucto navium numero. eas, quae factae erant Arelate per Caesarem, captivae Massiliensium accesserant sex. Has superioribus refecerat diebus, atque omnibus rebus instruxerat. Itaque suos 40 cohortatus, quos integros superavissent, ut victos contemnerent, plenus spei bonae atque animi adversus eos proficiscitur.

Excitement in the city.

Facile erat ex castris C. Trebonii atque omnibus superioribus locis prospicere in urbem, ut omnis juventus, quae in 45
oppido remanserat, omnesque superioris aetatis cum liberis
atque uxoribus templa deorum immortalium adirent, et ante
simulacra projecti victoriam ab diis exposcerent. Neque
erat quisquam omnium, quin in ejus diei casu suarum
omnium fortunarum eventum consistere existimarct.

Map 1. Desperate naval battle of Tauroenta.

Commisso proelio, Massiliensibus res nulla ad virtutem defuit; sed hoc animo decertabant, ut nullum aliud tempus ad conandum habituri viderentur, et, quibus, urbe capta, esset belli fortuna patienda. Simul ex minoribus navibus 55 magna vis eminus missa telorum multa nostris de improviso imprudentibus atque impeditis vulnera inferebant.

Narrow escape of Brutus.

Conspicataeque naves triremes duae navem D. Bruti, quae ex insigni facile agnosci poterat, duabus ex partibus sese in eam incitaverant. Sed tantum, re provisa, Brutus 60 celeritate navis enisus est, ut parvo momento antecederet. Illae adeo graviter inter se incitatae conflixerunt, ut vehementissime utraeque ex concursu laborarent; altera vero, praefracto rostro, tota collabefieret. Qua re animadversa, quae proximae ei loco ex Bruti classe naves erant, in eas 65 impeditas impetum faciunt, celeriterque ambas deprimunt.

His victory.

Sed Nasidianae naves nullo usui fuerunt, celeriterque pugna excesserunt: non enim has aut conspectus patriae aut propinquorum praecepta ad extremum vitae periculum adire cogebant. Itaque ex eo numero navium nulla de-70 siderata est: ex Massiliensium classe quinque sunt depressae, quattuor captae, una cum Nasidianis profugit; quae omnes citeriorem Hispaniam petiverunt. At ex reliquis una, praemissa Massiliam hujus nuntii perferendi gratia, cum jam appropinquaret urbi, omnis sese multitudo 75 ad cognoscendum effudit, ac, re cognita, tantus luctus excepit, ut urbs ab hostibus capta eodem vestigio videretur. Massilienses tamen nihilo secius ad defensionem urbis reliqua apparare coeperunt.

Land operations; the wall undermined,

Treboniani milites sub musculo pedum sexaginta longo, ad hostium turrim murumque perducto, vectibus infima 80 saxa turris hostium, quibus fundamenta continebantur, convellunt. Musculus ex turri latericia a nostris telis tormentisque defenditur; hostes ex muro ac turribus submoventur: non datur libera muri defendendi facultas.

and breached.

Compluribus jam lapidibus ex ea, quae suberat, turri 85 subductis, repentina ruina pars ejus turris concidit; pars reliqua consequens procumbebat.

Promise of capitulation on Caesar's arrival.

Tum hostes, turris repentina ruina commoti, de urbis direptione perterriti, inermes cum infulis sese porta foras universi proripiunt; ad legatos atque exercitum supplices manus 90 tendunt. Orant, ut adventus Caesaris exspectetur. Captam suam urbem videre; opera perfecta, turrim subrutam: itaque a defensione desistere. Docent, si omnino turris concidisset, non posse milites contineri, quin spe praedae in urbem irrumperent, urbemque delerent. Haec atque 95 ejusdem generis complura, ut ab hominibus doctis, magna cum misericordia fletuque pronuntiantur.

Tacit truce.

Quibus rebus commoti, legati milites ex opere deducunt, oppugnatione desistunt; operibus custodias relinquunt. Indutiarum quodam genere misericordia facto, adventus 100 Caesaris exspectatur. Nullum ex muro, nullum a nostris mittitur telum: ut re confecta, omnes curam et diligentiam remittunt. Caesar enim per litteras Trebonio magnopere mandaverat, ne per vim oppidum expugnari pateretur, ne

Map 1.

105 gravius permoti milites et defectionis odio et diutino labore omnes puberes interficerent.

Treacherous sortie and destruction of besiegers' works,

At hostes sine fide tempus atque occasionem fraudis ac doli quaerunt; interjectisque aliquot diebus, nostris languentibus atque animo remissis, subito meridiano tempore, 110 portis se foras erumpunt, secundo magnoque vento ignem operibus inferunt. Hunc sic distulit ventus, ut prius haec omnia consumerentur, quam quemadmodum accidisset animadverti posset. Nostri repentina fortuna permoti arma, quae possunt, arripiunt; alii ex castris sese incitant. Fit 115 in hostes impetus eorum, sed muro sagittis tormentisque fugientes persequi prohibentur. Illi sub murum se recipiunt, ibique musculum turrimque latericiam libere incendunt. Ita multorum mensium labor hostium perfidia et vi tempestatis puncto temporis interiit.

which are quickly repaired.

Trebonius ea, quae sunt amissa, multo majore militum studio administrare et reficere instituit. Celeriter res administratur; diuturni laboris detrimentum sollertia et virtute militum brevi reconciliatur. Quod ubi hostes viderunt, ea, quae diu longoque spatio refici non posse sperassent, pau125 corum dierum opera et labore ita refecta, ut nullus perfidiae neque eruptioni locus esset, ad easdem deditionis conditiones recurrunt.

On Caesar's arrival the town surrenders,

Caesar ex Hispania Massiliam pervenit. Ibi legem de dictatore latam seseque dictatorem dictum a M. Lepido 130 praetore cognoscit. Massilienses, omnibus defessi malis, rei frumentariae ad summam inopiam adducti, bis proelio navali superati, crebris eruptionibus fusi, gravi etiam pesti-



lentia conflictati ex diutina conclusione, dejecta turri, labefacta magna parte muri, auxiliis provinciarum et exercituum desperatis, quos in Caesaris potestatem venisse cognoverant, 135 sese dedere sine fraude constituunt.

but Domitius first escapes by sea.

Sed paucis ante diebus L. Domitius, cognita Massiliensium voluntate, navibus tribus comparatis, nactus turbidam tempestatem profectus est. Hunc conspicatae naves, quae jussu Bruti consuetudine quotidiana ad portum excubabant, 140 sublatis ancoris, sequi coeperunt. Ex his unum ipsius navigium contendit, et fugere perseveravit, auxilioque tempestatis ex conspectu abiit; duo perterrita concursu nostrarum navium sese in portum receperunt. Massilienses arma tormentaque ex oppido, ut est imperatum, proferunt; naves ex 145 portu navalibusque educunt; pecuniam ex publico tradunt. Quibus rebus confectis, Caesar, magis eos pro nomine et vetustate, quam pro meritis in se civitatis, conservans, duas ibi legiones praesidio relinquit; ceteras in Italiam mittit; ipse ad Urbem proficiscitur.

SECTION VIII.

Winter and Spring 49-48.

COMMENCEMENT OF CAMPAIGN OF B.C. 48 IN EPIRUS. CAESAR, WHILE WAITING FOR THE SECOND HALF OF HIS ARMY, MANŒUVRES THE WHOLE WINTER AGAINST POMPEIUS. ANTONIUS, IN SPITE OF THE BLOCKADE, JOINS HIM IN SPRING. (See Maps 2 and 5.)

Caesar at Rome. Elected Consul. Off again.

DICTATORE habente comitia Caesare, consules creantur Julius Caesar et P. Servilius: is enim erat annus, quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret. His rebus et feriis Latinis comitiisque omnibus perficiendis undecim dies tribuit, dic-5 taturaque se abdicat, et ab Urbe proficiscitur, Brundisiumque pervenit. Eo legiones duodecim, equitatum omnem venire jusserat.

Paucity of transport.

Sed tantum navium reperit, ut anguste quindecim millia legionariorum militum, quingentos equites transportare 10 possent. Hoc unum, inopia navium, Caesari ad conficiendi belli celeritatem defuit. Atque eae ipsae copiae hoc infrequentiores imponuntur, quod multi Gallicis tot bellis defecerant, longumque iter ex Hispania magnum numerum deminuerat, et gravis autumnus in Apulia circumque Brun-

disium ex saluberrimis Galliae et Hispaniae regionibus 15 omnem exercitum valetudine tentaverat.

Pompeius' forces and fleet.

Pompeius annuum spatium ad comparandas copias nactus, quod vacuum a bello atque ab hoste otiosum fuerat, magnam ex Asia Cycladibusque insulis, Corcyra, Athenis, Ponto, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenice, Aegypto classem coëgerat; 20 magnam imperatam Asiae, Syriae, regibusque omnibus et dynastis et tetrarchis et liberis Achaiae populis pecuniam exegerat; magnam societates earum provinciarum, quas ipse obtinebat, sibi numerare coëgerat. Legiones effecerat civium Romanorum novem: quinque ex Italia, quas tra-25 duxerat: unam ex Cilicia veteranam, quam, factam ex duabus, Gemellam appellabat; unam ex Creta et Macedonia ex veteranis militibus, qui, dimissi a superioribus imperatoribus, in his provinciis consederant; duas ex Asia, quas Lentulus consul conscribendas curaverat. Praeter has 30 exspectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas. Sagittarios ex Creta, Lacedaemone, Ponto, atque Syria, reliquisque civitatibus tria millia numero habebat, funditorum cohortes sexcenarias duas, equitum septem millia. Frumenti vim maximam ex Thessalia, Asia, Aegypto, Creta, Cyrenis, 35 reliquisque regionibus comparaverat : hiemare Dyrrhachii, Apolloniae, omnibusque oppidis maritimis constituerat, ut mare Caesarem transire prohiberet; ejusque rei causa omni ora maritima classem disposuerat. Toti officio maritimo M. Bibulus praepositus cuncta administrabat: ad hunc 40 summa imperii respiciebat.

Jan. 4, 48. Caesar, with seven legions, crosses from Brundisium to Epirus.

Caesar, ut Brundisium venit, contionatus apud milites, pridie Nonas Januarias naves solvit, impositis, ut supra

Maps 2 and 5.

demonstratum est, legionibus septem. Postridie terram 45 attigit Cerauniorum. Saxa inter et alia loca periculosa quietam nactus stationem, et portus omnes timens, quod teneri ab adversariis arbitrabatur, ad eum locum, qui appellatur Palaeste, omnibus navibus ad unam incolumibus, milites exposuit. Erant Orici Lucretius Vespillo et Minu-50 cius Rufus cum Asiaticis navibus duodeviginti, quibus jussu D. Laelii praeerant; M. Bibulus cum navibus centum et decem Corcyrae. Sed neque illi sibi confisi ex portu prodire sunt ausi, cum Caesar omnino duodecim naves longas praesidio duxisset, in quibus erant constratae quattuor; 55 neque Bibulus, impeditis navibus dispersisque remigibus, satis mature occurrit, quod prius ad continentem visus est Caesar, quam de ejus adventu fama omnino in eas regiones perferretur. Expositis militibus, naves eadem nocte Brundisium a Caesare remittuntur, ut reliquae legiones equita-60 tusque transportari possent. Huic officio praepositus erat Fufius Calenus legatus, qui celeritatem in transportandis legionibus adhiberet. Sed serius a terra provectae naves, neque usae nocturna aura, in redeundo offenderunt.

But Bibulus destroys thirty empty transports returning,

Bibulus enim, Corcyrae certior factus de adventu Caesaris, 65 sperans alicui se parti onustarum navium occurrere posse, inanibus occurrit; et, nactus circiter triginta, in eas indiligentiae suae ac doloris iracundiam erupit, omnesque incendit; eodemque igne nautas dominosque navium interfecit, magnitudine poenae reliquos terreri sperans.

and blockades the whole coast.

70 Hoc confecto negotio, a Salonis ad Orici portum stationes litoraque omnia longe lateque classibus occupavit; custodiisque diligentius dispositis, ipse gravissima hieme in navibus excubabat, nullum laborem aut munus despiciens, si in Caesaris complexum venire posset.

Caesar takes Oricum and Apollonia,

At ille, expositis militibus, eodem die Oricum proficiscitur. 75 Quo cum venisset, L. Torquatus, qui jussu Pompeii oppido praeerat, conatus portis clausis oppidum defendere, cum oppidani sua sponte Caesarem recipere conarentur, desperatis omnibus auxiliis, portas aperuit, et se atque oppidum Caesari dedidit, incolumisque ab eo conservatus est. Re-80 cepto Caesar Orico, nulla interposita mora, Apolloniam proficiscitur. Ejus adventu audito, L. Staberius, qui ibi praeerat, aquam comportare in arcem, atque eam munire, obsidesque ab Apolloniatibus exigere coepit. Illi vero daturos se negare, neque portas consuli praeclusuros. Quo-85 rum cognita voluntate, clam profugit Apollonia Staberius. Illi ad Caesarem legatos mittunt, oppidoque recipiunt. Hos sequuntur finitimae civitates, totaque Epiros; et, legatis ad Caesarem missis, quae imperaret, facturos pollicentur.

but Pompeius reaches Dyrrhachium first.

At Pompeius, qui erat eo tempore in Candavia, iterque 90 ex Macedonia in hiberna Apolloniam Dyrrhachiumque habebat, cognitis his rebus, quae erant Orici atque Apolloniae gestae, Dyrrhachio timens, diurnis eo nocturnisque itineribus contendit. Simulac Caesar appropinquare dicebatur, tantus terror incidit ejus exercitui, quod properans 95 noctem diei conjunxerat, neque iter intermiserat, ut complures arma projicerent, ac fugae simile iter videretur. Sed cum prope Dyrrhachium Pompeius constitisset, castraque metari jussisset, perterrito etiam tum exercitu, princeps Labienus procedit, juratque se eum non deserturum, eun-100 demque casum subiturum, quemcunque ei fortuna tribuisset. Hoc idem reliqui jurant legati; hos tribuni militum centurionesque sequuntur, atque idem omnis exercitus jurat.

Maps 2 and 5. They face each other on the Apsus.

Caesar, praeoccupato itinere ad Dyrrhachium, finem pro105 perandi facit, castraque ad flumen Apsum ponit in finibus
Apolloniatium, ut castellis vigiliisque bene meritae civitates
tutae essent praesidio; ibique reliquarum ex Italia legionum
adventum exspectare, et sub pellibus hiemare constituit.
Hoc idem Pompeius fecit, et, trans flumen Apsum positis
110 castris, eo copias omnes auxiliaque conduxit.

Narrow escape of Caesar's reinforcements.

Calenus, legionibus equitibusque Brundisii in naves impositis, ut erat praeceptum a Caesare, naves solvit, paulumque progressus a portu litteras a Caesare accipit, quibus est certior factus, portus litoraque omnia classibus adversariorum teneri.

115 Quo cognito, se in portum recipit, navesque omnes revocat.

Una ex his, quae perseveravit, neque imperio Caleni obtemperavit, delata Oricum atque a Bibulo expugnata est; qui de servis liberisque omnibus ad impuberes supplicium sumit, et ad unum interficit. Ita exiguo tempore magnoque casu totius exercitus salus constitit.

Bibulus keeps the sea under great difficulties through the winter,

Bibulus, ut supra demonstratum est, erat cum classe ad Oricum, et, sicut mari portibusque Caesarem prohibebat, ita ipse omni terra earum regionum prohibebatur: praesidiis enim dispositis, omnia litora a Caesare tenebantur, neque lignandi atque aquandi, neque naves ad terram religandi potestas fiebat. Summis angustiis rerum necessariarum premebantur, adeo ut cogerentur, sicut reliquum commeatum, ita ligna atque aquam Corcyra navibus onerariis supportare: atque uno etiam tempore accidit, ut, difficilioribus usi tempestatibus, ex pellibus quibus erant tectae naves nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur; quas



tamen difficultates patienter atque aequo animo ferebant, neque sibi nudanda litora et relinquendos portus existimabant.

but dies of his exertions.

Bibulus, multos dies terra prohibitus et graviore morbo 135 ex frigore ac labore implicitus, cum neque curari posset, neque susceptum officium deserere vellet, vim morbi sustinere non potuit. Eo mortuo, ad neminem unum summa imperii redit, sed separatim suam quisque classem ad arbitrium suum administrabat.

Labienus' treachery at a conference about peace.

Inter bina castra Pompeii atque Caesaris unum flumen tantum intererat Apsus, crebraque inter se colloquia milites habebant. Ibi cum P. Vatinius, Caesaris legatus, et ab altera parte A. Varro, in colloquium venissent, magnaque esset ejus rei exspectatio, atque omnium intenti animi ad 145 pacem esse viderentur, ex frequentia T. Labienus prodit, atque altercari cum Vatinio incipit. Quorum mediam orationem interrumpunt undique subito tela immissa; quae ille obtectus armis militum vitavit. Tum Labienus: 'Desinite ergo de compositione loqui: nam nobis, nisi Caesaris 150 capite relato, pax esse nulla potest.'

Libo's attempt to blockade Brundisium by sea

Libo, profectus ab Orico cum classe, cui praeerat, navium quinquaginta, Brundisium venit, insulamque, quae contra Brundisinum portum est, occupavit; quod praestare arbitrabatur unum locum, qua necessarius nostris erat egressus, 155 quam omnia litora ac portus custodia clausos teneri. Hic repentino adventu naves onerarias quasdam nactus incendit, et unam frumento onustam abduxit, magnumque nostris terrorem injecit, et adeo loci opportunitate profecit, ut ad Pompeium litteras mitteret, Naves reliquas, si vellet, 160

Maps 2 and 5.

subduci et refici juberet: sua classe auxilia sese Caesaris prohibiturum.

frustrated by M. Antonius' stratagem.

Erat eo tempore Antonius Brundisii, qui, virtuti militum confisus, scaphas navium magnarum circiter sexaginta crati-165 bus pluteisque contexit, eoque milites delectos imposuit, atque eas in litore pluribus locis separatim disposuit, navesque triremes duas, quas Brundisii faciendas curaverat, per causam exercendorum remigum ad fauces portus prodire jussit. Has cum audacius progressas Libo vidisset, sperans 170 intercipi posse, quadriremes quinque ad eas misit. cum navibus nostris appropinquassent, nostri veterani in portum refugiebant: illi studio incitati incautius sequebantur. Jam ex omnibus partibus subito Antonianae scaphae, signo dato, se in hostes incitaverunt, primoque 175 impetu unam ex his quadriremem cum remigibus defensoribusque suis ceperunt; reliquas turpiter refugere coëgerunt. Ad hoc detrimentum accessit, ut, equitibus per oram maritimam ab Antonio dispositis, aquari prohiberentur. Qua necessitate et ignominia permotus, Libo discessit a Brun-180 disio, obsessionemque nostrorum omisit.

Urgent messages of Caesar for the rest of his army.

Multi jam menses transierant, et hiems jam praecipitaverat, neque Brundisio naves legionesque ad Caesarem veniebant. Ac nonnullae ejus rei praetermissae occasiones Caesari videbantur. Quantoque ejus amplius processerat 185 temporis, tanto erant alacriores ad custodias, qui classibus praeerant; majoremque fiduciam prohibendi habebant: et crebris Pompeii litteris castigabantur, quoniam primo venientem Caesarem non prohibuissent, ut reliquos ejus exercitus impedirent; duriusque quotidie tempus ad trans-

permotus, Caesar Brundisium ad suos severius scripsit, Nacti idoneum ventum ne occasionem navigandi dimitterent.

Antonius brings them across, hotly pursued,

Illi adhibita audacia et virtute, administrantibus M. Antonio et Fufio Caleno, multum ipsis militibus hortantibus, neque ullum periculum pro salute Caesaris recusantibus, 195 nacti Austrum naves solvunt, atque altero die Apolloniam praetervehuntur. Qui cum essent ex continenti visi, C. Coponius, qui Dyrrhachii classi Rhodiae praeerat, naves ex portu educit; et cum iam nostris remissiore vento appropinquassent, idem Auster increbruit, nostrisque praesidio fuit. 200 Neque vero ille ob eam causam conatu desistebat, sed labore et perseverantia nautarum se vim tempestatis superare posse sperabat, praetervectosque Dyrrhachium magna vi venti nihilo secius sequebatur. Nostri, usi fortunae beneficio, tamen impetum classis timebant, si forte ventus 205 remisisset.

and lands at Nymphaeum, the pursuing fleet being wrecked.

Nacti portum, qui appellatur Nymphaeum, ultra Lissum millia passuum tria, eo naves introduxerunt, qui portus ab Africo tegebatur, ab Austro non erat tutus, leviusque tempestatis, quam classis, periculum aestimaverunt. Quo 210 simulac intus est itum, incredibili felicitate Auster, qui per biduum flaverat, in Africum se vertit. Hic subitam commutationem fortunae videre licuit. Qui modo sibi timuerant, hos tutissimus portus recipiebat; qui nostris navibus periculum intulerant, de suo timere cogebantur. Itaque, 215 tempore commutato, tempestas et nostros texit, et naves Rhodias afflixit, ita ut ad unam omnes naufragio interirent, et ex magno remigum propugnatorumque numero pars ad scopulos allisa interficeretur, pars ab nostris detraheretur; quos omnes conservatos Caesar domum remisit.

Maps 2 and

He gains Lissus.

Quo facto, conventus civium Romanorum, qui Lissum obtinebant, Antonium recepit omnibusque rebus juvit. Expositis copiis Antonius, quarum erat summa veteranarum trium legionum uniusque tironum et equitum octingen225 torum, plerasque naves in Italiam remittit ad reliquos milites equitesque transportandos: pontones, quod est genus navium Gallicarum, Lissi relinquit, hoc consilio, ut si forte Pompeius, vacuam existimans Italiam, eo trajecisset exercitum, quae opinio erat edita in vulgus, aliquam Caesar 230 ad insequendum facultatem haberet: nuntiosque ad eum celeriter mittit, quibus regionibus exercitum exposuisset, et quid militum transvexisset.

Caesar and Pompeius both march to find him.

Haec eodem fere tempore Caesar atque Pompeius cognoscunt. Nam praetervectas Apolloniam Dyrrhachiumque 235 naves viderant; ipsi iter secundum eas terra direxerant; sed, quo essent eae delatae, primis diebus ignorabant: cognitaque re, diversa sibi ambo consilia capiunt: Caesar, ut quam primum se cum Antonio conjungeret; Pompeius, ut venientibus in itinere se opponeret. Eodemque die 240 uterque eorum ex castris stativis a flumine Apso exercitum educunt: Pompeius clam et noctu; Caesar palam atque interdiu. Sed Caesari circuitu majore iter erat longius, adverso flumine, ut vado transire posset: Pompeius, quia expedito itinere flumen ei transeundum non erat, magnis 245 itineribus ad Antonium contendit; atque eum ubi appropinquare cognovit, idoneum locum nactus, ibi copias collocavit suosque omnes castris continuit, ignesque fieri prohibuit, quo occultior esset ejus adventus.

Pompeius lays an ambush, but Caesar effects his junction.

Haec ad Antonium statim per Graecos deferuntur. Ille, missis ad Caesarem nuntiis, unum diem sese castris tenuit; 250 altero die ad eum pervenit Caesar. Cujus adventu cognito, Pompeius, ne duobus circumcluderetur exercitibus, ex eo loco discedit, omnibusque copiis ad Asparagium Dyrrhachinorum pervenit, atque ibi idoneo loco castra ponit.

SECTION IX.

Spring and Summer 48.

CAESAR CUTS POMPEIUS OFF FROM DYRRHACHIUM, AND INVESTS HIM AT PETRA; BUT HAVING HIS LINES BROKEN RETIRES TO THESSALV. (See Maps 2, 5, 6.)

Pompeius' son destroys Caesar's fleets at Oricum and Lissus.

DEDUCTIS orae maritimae praesidiis, Caesar, ut supra demonstratum est, tres cohortes Orici oppidi tuendi causa reliquit, iisdemque custodiam navium longarum tradidit, quas ex Italia traduxerat. Huic officio oppidoque Acilius 5 legatus praeerat. Is naves nostras interiorem in partem post oppidum reduxit, et ad terram deligavit, faucibusque portus navem onerariam submersam objecit, et huic alteram conjunxit. Quibus cognitis rebus, Cn. Pompeius filius, qui classi Aegyptiae praeerat, ad Oricum venit, submer-10 samque navim remulco multisque contendens funibus adduxit; atque alteram navem, quae erat ad custodiam ab Acilio posita, pluribus aggressus navibus, expugnavit; eodemque tempore ex altera parte molem tenuit naturalem objectam, quae paene insulam oppidum effecerat; quattuor 15 biremes, subjectis scutulis, impulsas vectibus in interiorem partem traduxit. Ita ex utraque parte naves longas aggressus, quae erant deligatae ad terram atque inanes, quattuor ex his abduxit, reliquas incendit. Hoc confecto negotio, D. Laelium ab Asiatica classe abductum reliquit,

qui commeatus importari in oppidum prohibebat. Ipse, 20 Lissum profectus, naves onerarias triginta, a M. Antonio relictas, intra portum aggressus omnes incendit; Lissum expugnare conatus, triduum moratus, paucis in oppugnatione amissis, re infecta, inde discessit.

Caesar, having offered battle,

Caesar, postquam Pompeium ad Asparagium esse cog-25 novit, eodem cum exercitu profectus, expugnato in itinere oppido Parthinorum, in quo Pompeius praesidium habebat, tertio die in Macedoniam ad Pompeium pervenit, juxtaque eum castra posuit; et postridie, eductis omnibus copiis, acie instructa, decernendi potestatem Pompeio fecit. Ubi 30 illum suis locis se tenere animadvertit, reducto in castra exercitu, aliud sibi consilium capiendum existimavit.

by a rapid march cuts Pompeius off from Dyrrhachium.

Itaque postero die omnibus copiis magno circuitu difficili angustoque itinere Dyrrhachium profectus est, sperans Pompeium aut Dyrrhachium compelli, aut ab eo intercludi 35 posse, quod omnem commeatum totiusque belli apparatum eo contulisset; ut accidit. Pompeius enim, primo ignorans ejus consilium, quod diverso ab ea regione itinere profectum videbat, angustiis rei frumentariae compulsum discessisse existimabat; postea per exploratores certior factus, 40 postero die castra movit, breviore itinere se occurrere ei posse sperans. Quod fore suspicatus Caesar, militesque adhortatus, ut aequo animo laborem ferrent, parva parte noctis itinere intermisso, mane Dyrrhachium venit, cum primum agmen Pompeii procul cerneretur, atque ibi castra 45 posuit.

Pompeius encamps at Petra,

Pompeius, interclusus Dyrrhachio, ubi propositum tenere non potuit, edito loco, qui appellatur Petra, aditumque · A .

Maps 2 and 5.

habet navibus mediocrem, castra communit. Eo partem 50 navium longarum convenire, frumentum commeatumque ab Asia atque omnibus regionibus, quas tenebat, comportari imperat. Caesar longius bellum ductum iri existimans, et de Italicis commeatibus desperans, quod tanta diligentia omnia litora a Pompeianis tenebantur, in Epirum rei fru-55 mentariae causa Q. Tullium et L. Canuleium legatum misit.

Map 6. where Caesar invests him.

Erant circum castra Pompeii permulti editi atque asperi colles. Hos primum praesidiis tenuit, castellaque ibi com-Inde, ex castello in castellum perducta munitione 60 circumvallare Pompeium instituit: haec spectans, quod Pompeius multitudine equitum valebat, quo minore periculo ipse undique frumentum commeatumque exercitui supportare posset; simul, ut pabulatione Pompeium prohiberet; tertio, ut auctoritatem, qua ille maxime apud 65 exteras nationes niti videbatur, minueret, cum fama per orbem terrarum percrebruisset, illum a Caesare obsideri, neque audere proelio dimicare. Pompeius neque a mari Dyrrhachioque discedere volebat, quod omnem apparatum belli, tela, arma, tormenta ibi collocaverat, frumentumque 70 exercitui navibus supportabat; neque munitiones Caesaris prohibere poterat, nisi proelio decertare vellet, quod eo tempore statuerat non esse faciendum.

Pompeius makes counter lines within, of fifteen miles circuit.

Relinquebatur, ut quam plurimos colles occuparet, et quam latissimas regiones praesidiis teneret, Caesarisque copias, 75 quam maxime posset, distineret: id quod accidit. Castellis enim quattuor et viginti effectis, quindecim millia passuum circuitu amplexus, hoc spatio pabulabatur; multaque erant intra eum locum manu sata, quibus interim jumenta pas-

ceret. Atque ut nostri perpetuas munitiones habebant perductas ex castellis in proxima castella, ne quo loco 80 erumperent Pompeiani; ita illi interiore spatio perpetuas munitiones efficiebant, ne quo loco nostri intrare possent. Sed illi operibus vincebant, quod et numero militum praestabant, et interiore spatio minorem circuitum habebant. In occupandis praesidiis magna vi uterque nitebatur: 85 Caesar, ut quam angustissime Pompeium contineret: Pompeius, ut quam plurimos colles quam maximo circuitu occuparet.

Thus the smaller besieges the larger force.

Erat nova et inusitata belli ratio. Nam integras atque incolumes copias Caesar inferiore militum numero conti-90 nebat, cum illi omnium rerum copia abundarent; quotidie enim magnus undique navium numerus conveniebat, quae commeatum supportarent; neque ullus flare ventus poterat, quin aliqua ex parte secundum cursum haberent.

Distress of the Caesarians for corn.

Ipse autem, consumptis omnibus longe lateque frumentis, 95 summis erat in angustiis. Sed tamen haec singulari patientia milites ferebant. Recordabantur enim, eadem se superiore anno in Hispania perpessos, labore et patientia maximum bellum confecisse. Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant; pecus vero, cujus rei 100 summa erat ex Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant. Est etiam genus radicis inventum ab iis, quod appellatur chara, quod admixtum lacte multum inopiam levabat. ad similitudinem panis efficiebant. Ejus erat magna copia. Ex hoc effectos panes, cum in colloquiis Pompeiani famem 105 nostris objectarent, vulgo in eos jaciebant, ut spem eorum minuerent. Jamque frumenta maturescere incipiebant. atque ipsa spes inopiam sustentabat, quod celeriter se habituros copiam confidebant; crebraeque voces militum

Maps 2, 5, 6.

110 in vigiliis colloquiisque audiebantur, Prius se cortice ex arboribus victuros, quam Pompeium e manibus dimissuros.

Distress of the Pompeians for forage and water.

Libenter etiam ex perfugis cognoscebant, equos eorum vix tolerari, reliqua vero jumenta interisse; uti autem ipsos valetudine non bona, cum angustiis loci, tum aquae summa 115 inopia affectos. Omnia enim flumina atque omnes rivos, qui ad mare pertinebant, Caesar aut averterat, aut magnis operibus obstruxerat. Itaque illi necessario puteos fodere cogebantur, atque hunc laborem ad quotidiana opera addebant; qui tamen fontes a quibusdam praesidiis aberant 120 longius, et celeriter aestibus exarescebant. At Caesaris exercitus optima valetudine summaque aquae copia utebatur, tum commeatus omni genere praeter frumentum abundabat; quibus quotidie melius succedere tempus, majoremque spem maturitate frumentorum proponi vide-

Incidents of the siege.

In novo genere belli novae ab utrisque bellandi rationes reperiebantur. Illi, cum animadvertissent ex ignibus nocte cohortes nostras ad munitiones excubare, silentio aggressi intra multitudinem sagittas conjiciebant, et se confestim 130 ad suos recipiebant. Quibus rebus nostri, usu docti, haec reperiebant remedia, ut alio loco ignes facerent alio excubarent. * * * *

Gallant defence of a fort by a cohort.

Crebra proelia fiebant. Uno die sex proeliis factis, tribus ad Dyrrhachium, tribus ad munitiones, cum horum omnium 135 ratio haberetur, ad duorum millium numero ex Pompeianis cecidisse reperiebamus, evocatos centurionesque complures: signaque sunt sex militaria relata. Nostri non amplius viginti omnibus sunt proeliis desiderati. Sed in castello

nemo fuit omnino militum, quin vulneraretur, quattuorque ex una cohorte centuriones oculos amiserunt. Et, cum 140 laboris sui periculique testimonium afferre vellent, millia sagittarum circiter triginta in castellum conjecta Caesari renumeraverunt; scutoque ad eum relato Scaevae centurionis, inventa sunt in eo foramina centum viginti. Quem Caesar, ut erat de se meritus et de re publica, donatum 145 millibus ducentis [aeris] ab octavis ordinibus ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiavit: ejus enim opera castellum magna ex parte conservatum esse constabat: cohortemque postea duplici stipendio, frumento, veste et aliis militaribus donis amplissime donavit.

Pompeius plots a sally.

Omnibus deinceps diebus Caesar exercitum in aciem aequum in locum produxit, si Pompeius proelio decertare vellet, ut paene castris Pompeii legiones subjiceret. Pompeius autem, ut famam opinionemque hominum teneret, sic pro castris exercitum constituebat, ut tertia acies vallum 155 contingeret, omnis quidem instructus exercitus telis ex vallo abjectis protegi posset. Sed postquam non modo hordeum pabulumque omnibus locis herbaeque desectae, sed etiam fructus ex arboribus deficiebant, corruptis equis macie, conandum sibi aliquid Pompeius de eruptione existimavit. 160

Two Allobroges desert to Pompeius.

Erant apud Caesarem ex equitum numero Allobroges duo fratres, Raucillus et Egus, Abducilli filii, singulari virtute homines, quorum opera Caesar omnibus Gallicis bellis optima fortissimaque erat usus. His domi ob has causas amplissimos magistratus mandaverat, locupletesque 165 ex egentibus fecerat. Hi freti amicitia Caesaris, et stulta ac barbara arrogantia elati, despiciebant suos, stipendiumque equitum fraudabant. Quibus illi rebus permoti

Maps 2, 5, 6.

universi Caesarem adierunt, palamque de eorum injuriis 170 sunt questi; Caesar, multa virtuti eorum concedens, rem totam distulit; illos secreto castigavit, quod quaestui equites haberent. Quo pudore adducti, multis coëmptis equis, ad Pompeium transierunt cum iis, quos sui consilii participes habebant. Quos Pompeius, quod erant honesto 175 loco nati, et instructi liberaliter, magnoque comitatu et multis jumentis venerant, virique fortes habebantur, et in honore apud Caesarem fuerant, omnia sua praesidia circumduxit atque ostentavit. Nam ante id tempus nemo aut miles aut eques a Caesare ad Pompeium transierat, cum 180 paene quotidie a Pompeio ad Caesarem perfugerent. Sed hi, cognitis omnibus rebus, seu quid in munitionibus perfectum non erat, seu quid a peritioribus rei militaris desiderari videbatur, haec ad Pompeium omnia detulerant.

Pompeius prepares an attack on an unfinished part of Caesar's lines. (Map 6, p. 117.)

Quibus ille cognitis, eruptionisque jam ante capto con-185 silio, ut demonstratum est, magnum numerum levis armaturae et sagittariorum noctu in scaphas et naves actuarias imponit, et de media nocte cohortes sexaginta ad eam partem munitionum ducit, quae pertinebat ad mare, longissimeque a maximis castris Caesaris aberat. Eodem naves, 100 quas demonstravimus levis armaturae militibus completas, mittit; et, quid a quoque fieri velit, praecipit. munitiones Caesar Lentulum Marcellinum quaestorem cum legione nona positum habebat. Erat eo loco fossa pedum quindecim et vallus contra hostem in altitudinem pedum 195 decem. Ab eo intermisso spatio pedum sexcentorum, alter conversus in contrariam partem erat vallus. enim superioribus diebus timens Caesar, ne navibus nostri circumvenirentur, duplicem eo loco fecerat vallum. Sed operum magnitudo et continens omnium dierum labor, 200 quod millia passuum in circuitu septemdecim munitione

erat complexus, perficiendi spatium non dabat. Itaque contra mare transversum vallum, qui has duas munitiones conjungeret, nondum perfecerat. Quae res nota erat Pompeio, delata per Allobrogas perfugas, magnumque nostris attulerat incommodum.

205

Attack at daybreak.

Nam, subito prima luce Pompeiani exercitus ex navibus circumvecti milites in exteriorem vallum tela jaciebant, fossaeque aggere complebantur; et legionarii interioris munitionis defensores, scalis admotis, tormentis cujusque generis telisque terrebant, magnaque multitudo sagittari-210 orum ab utraque parte circumfundebatur. Multum autem ab ictu lapidum, quod unum nostris erat telum, viminea tegimenta galeis imposita defendebant. Itaque, cum omnibus rebus nostri premerentur, atque aegre resisterent, animadversum est vitium munitionis, quod supra demon-215 stratum est, atque inter duos vallos, qua perfectum opus non erat, per mare navibus expositi in aversos nostros impetum fecerunt, atque ex utraque munitione dejectos terga vertere coëgerunt.

Repulse of Caesarians.

Hoc tumultu nuntiato, Marcellinus cohortes subsidio 220 nostris laborantibus submittit, quae ex castris fugientes conspicatae neque illos suo adventu confirmare potuerunt, neque ipsae hostium impetum tulerunt. In eo proelio cum gravi vulnere esset affectus aquilifer, et a viribus deficeretur, conspicatus equites nostros, 'Hanc ego,' inquit, 'et vivus 225 multos per annos magna diligentia defendi, et nunc moriens eadem fide Caesari restituo. Nolite, obsecro, committere, quod ante in exercitu Caesaris non accidit, ut rei militaris dedecus admittatur, incolumemque ad eum deferte.' Hoc casu aquila conservatur, omnibus primae cohortis centuri-230 onibus interfectis praeter principem priorem.

Map 6. Antonius rallies them.

Jamque Pompeiani, magna caede nostrorum, castris Marcellini appropinquabant; et M. Antonius, qui proximum locum praesidiorum tenebat, ea re nuntiata, cum cohortizis bus duodecim descendens ex loco superiore cernebatur. Cujus adventus Pompeianos compressit, nostrosque firmavit, ut se ex maximo timore colligerent. Neque multo post Caesar, significatione per castella fumo facta, ut erat superioris temporis consuetudo, deductis quibusdam cohorzubus ex praesidiis, eodem venit. Qui, cognito detrimento, cum animadvertisset Pompeium extra munitiones egressum, commutata ratione belli, quoniam propositum non tenuerat, castra juxta Pompeium munire jussit.

The same day Caesar tries to cut off a body of Pompeians.

Qua perfecta munitione, animadversum est ab specula-245 toribus Caesaris, cohortes quasdam, quod instar legionis videretur, esse post silvam et in vetera castra duci. Castrorum hic situs erat. Minora castra, inclusa majoribus, castelli atque arcis locum obtinebant. Item ab angulo castrorum sinistro munitio ad flumen perducta erat, cir-250 citer passus quadringentos, quo liberius ac sine periculo milites aquarentur. Is locus aberat a novis Pompeii castris circiter passus quingentos. Hanc legionem sperans Caesar se opprimere posse, et cupiens ejus diei detrimentum sarcire, reliquit in opere cohortes duas, quae speciem muni-255 tionis praeberent. Ipse diverso itinere, quam potuit occultissime, reliquas cohortes, numero tres et triginta, in quibus erat legio nona, multis amissis centurionibus deminutoque militum numero, ad legionem Pompeii castraque minora duplici acie eduxit. Neque eum prima opinio fefellit. 260 Nam et pervenit priusquam Pompeius sentire posset, et tametsi erant munitiones castrorum magnae, tamen sinistro cornu, ubi erat ipse, celeriter aggressus Pompeianos ex vallo deturbavit. Excisoque ericio, nostri primo in majora castra, post etiam in castellum, quod erat inclusum majoribus castris, irruperunt, et, quod eo pulsa legio sese receperat, 265 nonnullos ibi repugnantes interfecerunt.

But his right wing, missing their way, is routed by reinforcements.

Sed fortuna, quae plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit. Munitionem, quam pertinere a castris ad flumen supra demonstravimus, dextri 270 Caesaris cornus cohortes ignorantia loci sunt secutae, cum portam quaererent castrorumque eam munitionem esse arbitrarentur. Ouod cum esset animadversum, conjunctam esse flumini, prorutis his munitionibus, defendente nullo, transcenderunt, omnisque noster equitatus eas cohortes est 275 Interim Pompeius, hac satis longa interjecta mora et re nuntiata, quintam legionem, ab opere deductam, subsidio suis duxit; eodemque tempore equitatus ejus nostris equitibus appropinquabat, et acies instructa a nostris, qui castra occupaverant, cernebatur, omniaque sunt 280 subito mutata. Pompeiana enim legio, celeris spe subsidii confirmata, ab decumana porta resistere conabatur, atque ultro in nostros impetum faciebat. Equitatus Caesaris, quod angusto itinere per aggeres ascendebat, receptui suo timens, initium fugae faciebat.

Panic and risk of annihilation.

Dextrum cornu, quod erat a sinistro seclusum, terrore equitum animadverso, ne intra munitionem opprimeretur, sese recipiebat; ac plerique ex his ne in angustias inciderent, ex decem pedum munitione se in fossas praecipitabant; primisque oppressis, reliqui per horum corpora 290 salutem sibi atque exitum pariebant. Sinistro cornu milites,

Map 6.

cum ex vallo Pompeium adesse et suos fugere cernerent, receptui sibi consulebant; omniaque erant tumultus, timoris, fugae plena, adeo ut, cum Caesar signa fugientium 295 manu prehenderet, et consistere juberet, alii ex metu etiam signa dimitterent, neque quisquam omnino consisteret. His tantis malis haec subsidia succurrebant, quominus omnis deleretur exercitus, quod Pompeius, insidias timens, munitionibus appropinquare aliquamdiu non audebat.

Caesar's losses.

Duobus his unius diei proeliis Caesar desideravit milites nongentos et sexaginta, tribunos militum et centuriones triginta duos. Sed horum omnium pars magna in fossis munitionibusque et fluminis ripis oppressa suorum in terrore ac fuga sine ullo vulnere interiit, signaque sunt militaria 305 triginta duo amissa. Pompeius eo proelio imperator est appellatus. Hoc nomen obtinuit, atque ita se postea salutari passus est; sed in litteris nunquam scribere est solitus, neque in fascibus insignia laureae praetulit.

Cruelty of Labienus.

At Labienus, cum ab eo impetravisset, ut sibi captivos 310 tradi juberet, omnes productos commilitones appellans et magna verborum contumelia interrogans, solerentne veterani milites fugere, in omnium conspectu interfecit.

Elation of Pompeians.

His rebus tantum fiduciae ac spiritus Pompeianis accessit, ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse jam sibi vide315 rentur. Non illi paucitatem nostrorum militum, non iniquitatem loci, non abscissum in duas partes exercitum, causae fuisse cogitabant; sed, proinde ac si virtute vicissent, neque ulla commutatio rerum posset accidere, per orbem terrarum fama ac litteris victoriam ejus diei concelebrabant.

SECTION X.

June to August B.C. 48.

CAESAR'S RETREAT FROM DYRRHACHIUM TO APOL-LONIA AND THENCE TO THESSALY. (See Maps 2, 5.)

Caesar reassures his men,

CAESAR, ab superioribus consiliis depulsus, omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem existimavit. Itaque uno tempore praesidiis omnibus deductis et oppugnatione dimissa, coactoque in unum locum exercitu, contionem apud milites habuit, hortatusque est, Ne ea, quae accidissent, 5 graviter ferrent, neve his rebus terrerentur; multisque secundis proeliis unum adversum, et id mediocre, oppone-Habendam fortunae gratiam, quod Italiam sine aliquo vulnere cepissent; quod duas Hispanias pacavissent: denique recordari debere, qua felicitate inter medias 10 hostium classes, oppletis non solum portibus, sed etiam litoribus, omnes incolumes essent transportati. omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam. Ouod esset acceptum detrimenti, cujusvis potius, quam suae culpae debere tribui. Hac habita contione. 15 nonnullos signiferos ignominia notavit ac loco movit. ercitui quidem omni tantus incessit ex incommodo dolor, tantumque studium infamiae sarciendae, ut nemo aut tribuni aut centurionis imperium desideraret, et sibi quisque etiam poenae loco graviores imponeret labores, simul- 20 que omnes arderent cupiditate pugnandi.

Maps 2 and 5. and retreats to Apollonia,

Contra ea Caesar neque satis militibus perterritis confidebat, spatiumque interponendum ad recreandos animos putabat, relictisque munitionibus magnopere rei frumenzo tariae timebat. Itaque, nulla interposita mora, sauciorum modo et aegrorum habita ratione, impedimenta omnia silentio prima nocte ex castris Apolloniam praemisit, ac conquiescere ante iter confectum vetuit: his una legio missa praesidio est. His explicitis rebus, duas in castris legiones retinuit, reliquas de quarta vigilia compluribus portis eductas eodem itinere praemisit; parvoque spatio intermisso, ut quam serissime ejus profectio cognosceretur, conclamari jussit, statimque egressus et novissimum agmen consecutus celeriter ex conspectu castrorum discessit.

pursued by Pompeius,

Neque vero Pompeius, cognito consilio ejus, moram ullam ad insequendum intulit; sed equitatum praemisit ad novissimum agmen demorandum; neque consequi potuit, quod multum expedito itinere antecesserat Caesar. Sed cum ventum esset ad flumen Genusum, quod ripis erat impeditis, consecutus equitatus novissimos proelio detinebat. Huic suos Caesar equites opposuit, expeditosque antesignanos admiscuit quadringentos, qui tantum profecerunt, ut, equestri proelio commisso, pellerent omnes, compluresque interficerent, ipsique incolumes se ad agmen 45 reciperent.

whom he distances by a stratagem.

Confecto justo itinere ejus diei, quod proposuerat Caesar, traductoque exercitu flumen Genusum, in veteribus suis castris contra Asparagium consedit, militesque omnes intra castrorum munitionem continuit, equitatumque per causam pabulandi emissum confestim decumana porta in castra se 50 recipere jussit. Simili ratione Pompeius, confecto ejusdem diei itinere, in suis veteribus castris ad Asparagium consedit; ejusque milites, quod ab opere, integris munitionibus, vacabant, depositis in contubernio armis, vallum relinquebant. Quibus ad sequendum impeditis, Caesar, quod fore 55 providerat, meridiano fere tempore, signo profectionis dato, exercitum educit, duplicatoque ejus diei itinere, octo millia passuum ex eo loco procedit; quod facere Pompeius discessu militum non potuit.

Postero die Caesar, similiter praemissis prima nocte 60 impedimentis, de quarta vigilia ipse egreditur. Hoc idem reliquis fecit diebus. Quibus rebus perfectum est, ut altissimis fluminibus atque impeditissimis itineribus nullum acciperet incommodum. Pompeius enim, primi diei mora illata et reliquorum dierum frustra labore suscepto, cum 65 se magnis itineribus extenderet, et praegressos consequi cuperet, quarto die finem sequendi fecit.

Possible courses open to Pompeius, and Caesar's measures to meet them.

Caesari ad saucios deponendos, stipendium exercitui dandum, socios confirmandos, praesidium urbibus relinquendum, necesse erat adire Apolloniam. Sed his rebus 70 tantum temporis tribuit, quantum erat properanti necesse: timens Domitio, ne adventu Pompeii praeoccuparetur, ad eum omni celeritate et studio incitatus ferebatur. Totius autem rei consilium his rationibus explicabat, ut, si Pompeius eodem contenderet, abductum illum a mari 75 frumento ac commeatu abstractum pari conditione belli secum decertare cogeret; si in Italiam transiret, conjuncto exercitu cum Domitio per Illyricum Italiae subsidio proficisceretur; si Apolloniam Oricumque oppugnare et se omni maritima ora excludere conaretur, obsesso tamen 80 Scipione, necessario illum suis auxilium ferre cogeret.

Maps 2, 5.

Itaque, praemissis nuntiis ad Cn. Domitium, Caesar scripsit, et, quid fieri vellet, ostendit; praesidioque Apolloniae cohortibus quattuor, Lissi una, tribus Orici relictis, quique erant 85 ex vulneribus aegri, depositis, per Epirum atque Athamaniam iter facere coepit.

Both parties move inland towards Cn. Domitius;

Pompeius quoque de Caesaris consilio conjectura judicans ad Scipionem properandum sibi existimabat: si Caesar iter illo haberet, ut subsidium Scipioni ferret; si ab ora 90 maritima discedere nollet, quod legiones equitatumque ex Italia exspectaret, ipse ut omnibus copiis Domitium aggrederetur. His de causis uterque eorum celeritati studebat. Sed Caesarem Apollonia a directo itinere averterat; Pompeius per Candaviam iter in Macedoniam expeditum 95 habebat. Accessit etiam ex improviso aliud incommodum, quod Domitius, qui dies complures castris Scipionis castra collata habuisset, rei frumentariae causa ab eo discesserat, et Heracleam, quae est subjecta Candaviae, iter fecerat, ut ipsa fortuna illum objicere Pompeio videretur. Haec ad id 100 tempus Caesar ignorabat.

but he, by the enemy's information, very narrowly escapes Pompeius,

Sed Allobroges, Raucilli atque Egi familiares, quos perfugisse ad Pompeium demonstravimus, conspicati in itinere exploratores Domitii, seu pristina sua consuetudine, quod una in Gallia bella gesserant, seu gloria elati, cuncta, ut 105 erant acta, exposuerunt, et Caesaris profectionem et adventum Pompeii docuerunt. A quibus Domitius certior factus, vix quattuor horarum spatio antecedens, hostium beneficio periculum vitavit, et ad Aeginium, quod est objectum oppositumque Thessaliae Caesari venienti occurrit.



and joins Caesar, who makes an example of treacherous Gomphi in Thessaly.

Conjuncto exercitu, Caesar Gomphos pervenit, quod est 110 oppidum primum Thessaliae venientibus ab Epiro; quae gens paucis ante mensibus ultro ab eo praesidium militum petierat. Sed eo fama jam praecurrerat, de proelio Dyrrhachino, quod multis auxerat partibus. Androsthenes, praetor Thessaliae, portas praecludit, et ad 115 Scipionem Pompeiumque nuntios mittit, ut sibi subsidio veniant: se confidere munitionibus oppidi, si celeriter succurratur; longinquam oppugnationem sustinere non posse. Caesar, cohortatus milites docuit, quantum usum haberet ad sublevandam omnium rerum inopiam, potiri oppido 120 pleno atque opulento, simul reliquis civitatibus hujus urbis exemplo inferre terrorem, et id fieri celeriter, priusquam auxilia concurrerent. Itaque, usus singulari militum studio, eodem, quo venerat, die post horam nonam oppidum altissimis moenibus oppugnare aggressus, ante solis occasum 125 expugnavit, et ad diripiendum militibus concessit: statimque ab oppido castra movit, et Metropolim venit, sic ut nuntios expugnati oppidi famamque antecederet. Metropolitae, casu civitatis Gomphensis cognito ex captivis, quos Caesar ad murum producendos curaverat, portas aperuerunt. 130 Quibus diligentissime conservatis, collata fortuna Metropolitum cum casu Gomphensium, nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praeter Larissaeos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent. Ille, idoneum locum in agris nactus plenis frumentorum quae 135 prope jam matura erant, ibi adventum exspectare Pompeii. eoque omnem belli rationem conferre constituit.

SECTION XI.

August B.C. 48.

CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF PHARSALIA. (See Maps 2, 5, 7.)

Pompeius shares the command with Metellus Scipio.

Pompeius paucis post diebus in Thessaliam pervenit, contionatusque apud cunctum exercitum suis agit gratias; Scipionis milites cohortatur, ut, parta jam victoria, praedae ac praemiorum velint esse participes; receptisque omnibus 5 in una castra legionibus, suum cum Scipione honorem partitur, classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi jubet praetorium tendi.

The Pompeians count their chickens.

Jamque inter se palam de praemiis ac sacerdotiis contendebant, in annosque consulatum definiebant; alii domos 10 bonaque eorum, qui in castris erant Caesaris, petebant. Jam de sacerdotio Caesaris Domitius, Scipio, Spintherque Lentulus quotidianis contentionibus ad gravissimas verborum contumelias palam descenderunt. Postremo omnes aut de honoribus suis, aut de praemiis pecuniae, aut de per-15 sequendis inimicitiis agebant; nec, quibus rationibus superare possent, sed, quemadmodum uti victoria deberent, cogitabant.

Caesar offers battle every day.

Re frumentaria praeparata, confirmatisque militibus, et satis longo spatio temporis a Dyrrhachinis proeliis inter-

misso, tentandum Caesar existimavit, quidnam Pompeius 20 propositi aut voluntatis ad dimicandum haberet. Itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit, aciemque instruxit.

His substitute for cavalry.

Quae res in dies confirmatiorem ejus exercitum efficiebat. Superius tamen institutum in equitibus, quod demonstravimus, servabat, ut, quoniam numero multis partibus esset 25 inferior, adolescentes atque expeditos ex antesignanis electos milites, mutatis ad pernicitatem armis, inter equites proeliari juberet, qui quotidiana consuetudine usum quoque ejus generis proeliorum perciperent. His erat rebus effectum, ut equitum mille etiam apertioribus locis septem millium 30 Pompeianorum impetum, cum adesset usus, sustinere auderent, neque magnopere eorum multitudine terrerentur. Namque etiam per eos dies proelium secundum equestre fecit, atque unum Allobrogem ex duobus, quos perfugisse ad Pompeium supra docuimus, cum quibusdam interfecit. 35

Pompeius, qui castra in colle habebat, ad infimas radices montis aciem instruebat, semper, ut videbatur, spectans, si iniquis locis Caesar se subjiceret. Caesar nulla ratione ad pugnam elici posse Pompeium existimans, hanc sibi commodissimam belli rationem judicavit, ut castra ex eo loco 40 moveret, semperque esset in itineribus.

August 9, 48. Pompeius at last accepts battle. Map 7.

His constitutis rebus, signo jam profectionis dato tabernaculisque detensis, animadversum est longius a vallo esse aciem Pompeii progressam, ut non iniquo loco posse dimicari videretur. Tunc Caesar apud suos, cum jam 45 esset agmen in portis, 'Differendum est,' inquit, 'iter in praesentia nobis, et de proelio cogitandum, sicut semper depoposcimus. Animo simus ad dimicandum parati: non facile occasionem postea reperiemus.' Confestimque expeditas copias educit.

Maps 2, 5, 7. Pompeius' swaggering speech to his generals.

Pompeius quoque, ut postea cognitum est, suorum omnium hortatu statuerat proelio decertare. Namque etiam in consilio superioribus diebus dixerat, priusquam concurrerent acies, fore, ut exercitus Caesaris pelleretur. 55 Id cum essent plerique admirati, 'Scio me,' inquit, 'paene incredibilem rem polliceri; sed rationem consilii mei accipite, quo firmiore animo in proelium prodeatis. Persuasi equitibus nostris (idque mihi se facturos confirmaverunt), ut, cum propius sit accessum, dextrum Caesaris 60 cornu ab latere aperto aggrederentur; ut, circumventa ab tergo acie, prius perturbatum exercitum pellerent, quam a nobis telum in hostem jaceretur. Ita sine periculo legionum, et paene sine vulnere, bellum conficiemus. Id autem difficile non est, cum tantum equitatu valeamus.'

Labienus depreciates Caesar's army.

65 Hunc Labienus excepit, et, cum Caesaris copias despiceret, Pompeii consilium summis laudibus efferret, 'Noli,' inquit, 'existimare, Pompei, hunc esse exercitum, qui Galliam Germaniamque devicerit. Omnibus interfui proeliis, neque temere incognitam rem pronuntio. Perexigua pars 70 illius exercitus superest; magna pars deperiit, quod accidere tot proeliis fuit necesse: multos autumni pestilentia in Italia consumpsit; multi domum discesserunt; multi sunt relicti in continenti. Hae copiae, quas videtis, ex delectibus horum annorum in citeriore Gallia sunt refectae, et plerique sunt 75 ex coloniis Transpadanis. Attamen, quod fuit roboris, duobus proeliis Dyrrhachinis interiit.' Haec cum dixisset, juravit se nisi victorem in castra non reversurum, reliquosque, ut idem facerent, hortatus est. Hoc laudans Pompeius idem juravit; nec vero ex reliquis fuit quisquam, qui jurare 80 dubitaret.

Arrangement of Pompeius' 47,000 foot and 7,000 horse,

Caesar, cum Pompeii castris appropinquasset, ad hunc modum aciem ejus instructam animadvertit. Erant in sinistro cornu legiones duae, traditae a Caesare initio dissensionis ex senatusconsulto; quarum una prima, altera tertia appellabatur. In eo loco ipse erat Pompeius. 85 Mediam aciem Scipio cum legionibus Syriacis tenebat. Ciliciensis legio conjuncta cum cohortibus Hispanis, quas traductas ab Afranio docuimus, in dextro cornu erant collocatae. Reliquas inter aciem mediam cornuaque interjecerat, numeroque cohortes centum et decem ex- 90 pleverat. Haec erant millia quadraginta quinque, evocatorum circiter duo, quae tota acie disperserat. Reliquas cohortes septem in castris propinquisque castellis praesidio disposuerat. Dextrum cornu ejus rivus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat; quam ob causam cunctum equitatum, os sagittarios funditoresque omnes in sinistro cornu objecerat.

and of Caesar's 22,000 foot and 1,000 horse.

Caesar, superius institutum servans, decimam legionem in dextro cornu, nonam in sinistro collocaverat, tametsi erat Dyrrhachinis proeliis vehementer attenuata. Huic sic adjunxit octavam, ut paene unam ex duabus efficeret. 100 Cohortes in acie octoginta constitutas habebat, quae summa erat millium viginti et duorum; cohortes duas castris praesidio reliquerat. Sinistro cornu Antonium, dextro P. Sullam, media acie Cn. Domitium praeposuerat. Ipse contra Pompeium constitit.

His infantry reserve against Pompeius' splendid cavalry.

Simul his rebus animadversis, quas demonstravimus, timens ne a multitudine equitum dextrum cornu circumveniretur, celeriter ex tertia acie singulas cohortes detraxit, atque ex his quartam instituit, equitatuique opposuit; et,

Map 7.

rio quid fieri vellet, ostendit, monuitque ejus diei victoriam in earum cohortium virtute constare. Simul tertiae aciei totique exercitui imperavit, ne injussu suo concurreret: se, cum id fieri vellet, vexillo signum daturum. Exposcentibus militibus et studio pugnae ardentibus, tuba signum dedit.

Story of Crastinus the Evocatus.

ore anno apud eum primum pilum in legione decima duxerat, vir singulari virtute. Hic, signo dato, 'Sequimini me,' inquit, 'manipulares mei qui fuistis, et vestro imperaatori, quam constituistis, operam date. Unum hoc proelium 120 superest; quo confecto, et ille suam dignitatem et nos nostram libertatem recuperabimus.' Simul respiciens Caesarem, 'Faciam,' inquit, 'hodie, imperator, ut aut vivo mihi aut mortuo gratias agas.' Haec cum dixisset, primus ex dextro cornu procucurrit, atque eum electi milites circiter 125 centum et viginti voluntarii ejusdem centuriae sunt prosecuti.

The Pompeians await Caesar's attack at the halt, a great mistake;

Inter duas acies tantum erat relictum spatii, ut satis esset ad concursum utriusque exercitus. Sed Pompeius suis praedixerat, ut Caesaris impetum exciperent, neve se loco 130 moverent, aciemque ejus distrahi paterentur; idque admonitu C. Triarii fecisse dicebatur, ut primus excursus visque militum infringeretur, aciesque distenderetur, atque in suis ordinibus dispositi dispersos adorirentur; simul fore, ut duplicato cursu Caesaris milites exanimarentur et lassi-135 tudine conficerentur. Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur, propterea quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed

augere imperatores debent; neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent, clamoremque 140 universi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.

So the Caesarians halt half-way and take breath.

Sed nostri milites, dato signo, cum infestis pilis procucurrissent, atque animadvertissent non concurri a Pompeianis, usu periti ac superioribus pugnis exercitati, sua 145 sponte cursum represserunt, et ad medium fere spatium constiterunt, ne consumptis viribus appropinquarent; parvoque intermisso temporis spatio ac rursus renovato cursu, pila miserunt, celeriterque, ut erat praeceptum a Caesare, gladios strinxerunt. Neque vero Pompeiani huic rei 150 defuerunt. Nam et tela missa exceperunt, et impetum legionum tulerunt, et ordines conservaverunt, pilisque missis, ad gladios redierunt. Eodem tempore equites ab sinistro Pompeii cornu, ut erat imperatum, universi procucurrerunt, omnisque multitudo sagittariorum se profudit; quorum 155 impetum noster equitatus non tulit, sed paulum loco motus cessit: equitesque Pompeii hoc acrius instare, aciemque nostram a latere aperto circumire coeperunt.

Caesar's reserve routs the Pompeian cavalry and light armed,

Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, quartae aciei, quam instituerat sex cohortium numero, signum dedit. Illi 160 celeriter procucurrerunt, infestisque signis tanta vi in Pompeii equites impetum fecerunt, ut eorum nemo consisteret, omnesque conversi non solum loco excederent, sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos peterent. Quibus submotis, omnes sagittarii funditoresque destituti, inermes, 165 sine praesidio, interfecti sunt.

and takes his main body in rear;

Eodem impetu cohortes sinistrum cornu, pugnantibus etiam tum ac resistentibus in acie Pompeianis circum

Maps 2, 5, 7.

ierunt, eosque a tergo sunt adorti. Eodem tempore tertiam 170 aciem Caesar, quae quieta fuerat, et se ad id tempus loco tenuerat, procurrere jussit. Ita, cum recentes atque integri defessis successissent, alii autem a tergo adorirentur, sustinere Pompeiani non potuerunt, atque universi terga verterunt.

and to them Caesar owed his victory.

175 Neque vero Caesarem fefellit, quin ab iis cohortibus, quae contra equitatum in quarta acie collocatae essent, initium victoriae oriretur, ut ipse in cohortandis militibus pronuntiaverat. Ab his enim primum equitatus est pulsus; ab iisdem factae caedes sagittariorum ac funditorum; ab 180 iisdem acies Pompeiana a sinistra parte erat circumita, atque initium fugae factum. Sed Pompeius, ut equitatum suum pulsum vidit, atque eam partem, cui maxime confidebat, perterritam animadvertit, aliis diffisus acie excessit, protinusque se in castra equo contulit; et iis centurionibus, 185 quos in statione ad praetoriam portam posuerat, clare, ut milites exaudirent, 'Tuemini,' inquit, 'castra et defendite diligenter: ego reliquas portas circumeo, et castrorum praesidia confirmo.' Haec cum dixisset, se in praetorium contulit, eventum exspectans.

The camp stormed.

190 Caesar, Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis, nullum spatium perterritis dare oportere existimans, milites cohortatus est, ut beneficio fortunae uterentur, castraque oppugnarent. Qui, etsi magno aestu fatigati (nam ad meridiem res erat perducta), tamen, ad omnem laborem 195 animo parati, imperio paruerunt. Castra a cohortibus, quae ibi praesidio erant relictae, industrie defendebantur, multo etiam acrius a Thracibus barbarisque auxiliis. Nam qui acie refugerant milites, et animo perterriti et lassitudine confecti, missis plerique armis signisque militaribus magis

de reliqua fuga, quam de castrorum defensione, cogitabant. 200 Neque vero diutius, qui in vallo constiterant, multitudinem telorum sustinere potuerunt, sed confecti vulneribus locum reliquerunt, protinusque omnes, in altissimos montes, qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt.

Luxury found there.

In castris Pompeii videre licuit trichilas structas, magnum 205 argenti pondus expositum, Lucii etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera, multaque praeterea, quae nimiam luxuriam et victoriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile existimari posset nihil eos de eventu ejus diei timuisse. At hi miserrimo ac patientissimo exercitui Caesaris luxuriem 210 objiciebant, cui semper omnia ad necessarium usum defuissent.

Flight of Pompeius.

Pompeius, jam cum intra vallum nostri versarentur, equum nactus, detractis insignibus imperatoris, decumana porta se ex castris ejecit, protinusque equo citato Larissam 215 contendit. Neque ibi constitit, sed eadem celeritate, paucos suos ex fuga nactus, nocturno itinere non intermisso, comitatu equitum triginta ad mare pervenit, navemque frumentariam conscendit.

Surrender of the rest of his army.

Caesar castris potitus a militibus contendit, ne in praeda 220 occupati reliqui negotii gerendi facultatem dimitterent. Qua re impetrata, montem opere circummunire instituit. Pompeiani, quod is mons erat sine aqua, diffisi ei loco, relicto monte, universi jugis ejus Larissam versus se recipere coeperunt. Qua re animadversa, Caesar copias suas divisit, 225 partemque legionum in castris Pompeii remanere jussit, partem in sua castra remisit; quattuor secum legiones duxit commodioreque itinere Pompeianis occurrere coepit,

Maps 2, 5, 7.

et progressus millia passuum sex aciem instruxit. Qua re 230 animadversa, Pompeiani in quodam monte constiterunt. Hunc montem flumen subluebat. Caesar, milites cohortatus, etsi totius diei continenti labore erant confecti, noxque jam suberat, tamen munitione flumen a monte seclusit, ne noctu aquari Pompeiani possent. Quo jam 235 perfecto opere, illi de deditione, missis legatis, agere coeperunt. Pauci ordinis senatorii, qui se cum iis conjunxerant, nocte fuga salutem petierunt. Caesar prima luce omnes eos, qui in monte consederant, ex superioribus locis in planitiem descendere atque arma projicere jussit. Quod 240 ubi sine recusatione fecerunt, flentesque ab eo salutem petierunt, consolatus consurgere jussit, et pauca apud eos de lenitate sua locutus, omnes conservavit, militibusque suis commendavit, eodemque die Larissam pervenit.

Losses of both parties. Death of Crastinus, and of L. Domitius.

In eo proelio non amplius ducentos milites desideravit, 245 sed centuriones, fortes viros, circiter triginta amisit. Interfectus est etiam fortissime pugnans Crastinus, cujus mentionem supra fecimus, gladio in os adversum conjecto. Neque id fuit falsum, quod ille in pugnam proficiscens dixerat. Sic enim Caesar existimabat, eo proelio excellenzo tissimam virtutem Crastini fuisse, optimeque eum de se meritum judicabat. Ex Pompeiano exercitu circiter millia quindecim cecidisse videbantur; sed in deditionem venerunt amplius millia quattuor et viginti; namque etiam cohortes, quae praesidio in castellis fuerant, sese Sullae dediderunt, multi praeterea in finitimas civitates refugerunt; signaque militaria ex proelio ad Caesarem sunt relata centum et octoginta, et aquilae novem. L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens, cum vires eum lassitudine defecissent, ab equitibus est interfectus.

SECTION XII.

Autumn B.C. 48.

PURSUIT OF POMPEIUS. HIS MURDER AT PELUSIUM. (See Map 2.)

Pompeius flies, pursued by Caesar, to Amphipolis,

Caesar, omnibus rebus relictis, persequendum sibi Pompeium existimavit, quascunque in partes se ex fuga recepisset, ne rursus copias comparare alias et bellum renovare posset; et, quantumcunque itineris equitatu efficere poterat, quotidie progrediebatur, legionemque unam minoribus itineribus subsequi jussit. Pompeius ad ancoram una nocte constitit, et, vocatis ad se Amphipoli hospitibus, et pecunia ad necessarios sumptus corrogata, cognito Caesaris adventu, ex eo loco discessit, et Mytilenas paucis diebus venit.

Cyprus,

Biduum tempestate retentus, navibusque aliis additis 10 actuariis, in Ciliciam atque inde Cyprum pervenit. Ibi cognoscit consensu omnium Antiochensium civiumque Romanorum, qui illic negotiarentur, arcem captam esse excludendi sui causa, nuntiosque dimissos ad eos, qui se ex fuga in finitimas civitates recepisse dicerentur, ne Anti- 15 ochiam adirent: id si fecissent, magno eorum capitis periculo futurum. Jamque de Caesaris adventu fama ad civitates perferebatur.

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Map 2.

and Egypt.

Quibus cognitis rebus, Pompeius, deposito adeundae 20 Syriae consilio, Pelusium pervenit. Ibi casu rex erat Ptolemaeus, puer aetate, magnis copiis cum sorore Cleopatra bellum gerens, quam paucis ante mensibus per suos propinquos atque amicos regno expulerat; castraque Cleopatrae non longo spatio ab ejus castris distabant.

Pompeius asks for protection from Ptolemy.

Ad eum Pompeius misit, ut pro hospitio atque amicitia patris Alexandria reciperetur, atque illius opibus in calamitate tegeretur. Sed qui ab eo missi erant, confecto legationis officio, liberius cum militibus regis colloqui coeperunt, eosque hortari, ut suum officium Pompeio praestarent, neve ejus fortunam despicerent. In hoc erant numero complures Pompeii milites, quos Gabinius Alexandriam traduxerat, belloque confecto, apud Ptolemaeum, patrem pueri, reliquerat.

He is invited on board a boat and treacherously murdered.

His tunc cognitis rebus, amici regis, qui propter aetatem 35 ejus in procuratione erant regni, timore adducti (ut postea praedicabant), ne Pompeius Alexandriam Aegyptumque occuparet, his, qui erant ab eo missi, palam liberaliter responderunt, eumque ad regem venire jusserunt; ipsi clam consilio inito, Achillam, praefectum regium, singulari 40 hominem audacia, et L. Septimium, tribunum militum, ad interficiendum Pompeium miserunt. Ab his liberaliter ipse appellatus, et quadam notitia Septimii productus, quod bello praedonum apud eum ordinem duxerat, naviculam parvulam conscendit cum paucis suis: ibi ab Achilla et 45 Septimio interficitur. Item L. Lentulus comprehenditur ab rege, et in custodia necatur.

50

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Caesar again saves the treasures of Ephesus.

Caesar, cum in Asiam venisset, reperiebat T. Ampium conatum esse tollere pecunias Epheso ex fano Dianae, sed interpellatum adventu Caesaris profugisse. Ita duobus temporibus Ephesiae pecuniae Caesar auxilium tulit.

He lands at Alexandria with four thousand men.

Caesar, paucos dies in Asia moratus, cum audisset Pompeium Cypri visum, conjectans eum Aegyptum iter habere, cum legionibus, una, quam se ex Thessalia sequi jusserat, et altera, quam ex Achaia a Q. Fufio legato evocaverat, equitibusque octingentis et navibus longis Rhodiis decem et 55 Asiaticis paucis, Alexandriam pervenit. In his erant legionibus hominum tria millia ducenti; reliqui, vulneribus ex proeliis et labore ac magnitudine itineris confecti, consequi non potuerant. Sed Caesar, confisus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat, atque omnem sibi 60 locum tutum fore existimabat. Alexandriae de Pompeii morte cognoscit, atque ibi primum e navi egrediens clamorem militum audit, quos rex in oppido praesidii causa reliquerat, et concursum ad se fieri videt, quod fasces anteferrentur.

Riots, and commencement of Alexandrine War.

In hoc omnis multitudo majestatem regiam minui prae-65 dicabat. Hoc sedato tumultu, crebrae continuis diebus concitationes fiebant, compluresque milites hujus urbis omnibus partibus interficiebantur. Quibus rebus animadversis, legiones sibi alias ex Asia adduci jussit, quas ex Pompeianis militibus confecerat. Ipse enim necessario 70 Etesiis tenebatur, qui Alexandria navigantibus sunt adversissimi venti. Interim controversias regum ad populum Romanum et ad se, quod esset consul, pertinere existimans, ostendit sibi placere regem Ptolemaeum atque ejus sororem Cleopatram exercitus, quos haberent, dimittere, et de controversiis jure apud se potius quam armis disceptare. Haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.

NOTES

SECTION I.

- 1-46. Taken from the end of Hirtius' Appendix to Caesar's Gallic War, Book viii., but inserted here to show the condition of affairs at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. Three points are specially to be noticed—(1) The distribution of Caesar's troops when war broke out; (2) the withdrawal of the two legions from him, § i. 25-46; (3) his kind treatment of Labienus, which was repaid by desertion.
- 2. Galliae: possessive genitive. The adj. Gallicas would have been more usual.
- 5. conditione parendi meliore: abl. of manner, 'by means of easier terms of subjection.' Caesar organised Gaul quite differently from the usual organisation of the Roman Provinces, which were governed as though they were enemies to be kept down, and to have the maximum of profit exacted from them by their conquerors. He taxed them lightly, treated their great men with honour, rewarded many with Roman citizenship, and left the Gallic States much more local self-government than any other Provincial States had. The result was, that from dangerous enemies they turned straight into loyal and contented subjects.
- 9. municipiis et coloniis: the towns in Cisalpine Gaul which had in different degrees the privileges of Roman citizenship. Placentia, Cremona, Bononia, and others, having originally had Roman or Latin citizens sent to them to hold the neighbouring country in check soon after its conquest, were colonies; while other towns were municipia. The full Roman citizenship (Introd. p. xvii. 103) had probably been already granted to all Cisalpine Gaul south of the Padus, though not yet to the part north of it.
- 11. ab illo universae Galliae bello: the revolt of Vercingetorix, B.C. 52 (Introd. p. xx. 89). All Caesar's previous wars in Gaul had

been against the inhabitants of separate parts, but this was a general revolt of almost the whole nation.

- 12. ad, 'for,'
- 15. **triclinits** (τρεῖς κλίνη, 'couch'): the Roman dinner table, shaped []. The guests reclined on couches on the outer side, three on a couch.
- 16. ut vel exspectatissimi . . . posset: 'that the joy of the very grandest triumph he could hope for might be tasted beforehand,' i.e. 'that he might have a foretaste of,' etc. They gave Caesar a triumph on their own account, a foretaste of the great one he would have at Rome afterwards for his Gallic victories. Caesar was the 'patron' of the Cisalpine Gauls at Rome, and had involved himself in many quarrels with the senate on their behalf; hence their devotion to him.
- 18. Galliae togatae: 'Gaul which wore the toga,' i.e. Cisalpine Gaul, because they had adopted the Roman dress. Transalpine Gaul was in like manner nicknamed Gallia Comata, 'with the long hair' (coma), or Bracata, 'wearing breeches' (bracae), from their national habits and costumes.
- quo (=ut eo, 'that by this means') is used instead of ut to express purpose when there is a comparative connected with it in the sentence.
- 18-19. quo . . . petitionem: Labienus is subject to conciliaretur, in order that Labienus might be won over by stronger inducements to support Caesar's canvass for the consulship.'
- 22. Labienum sollicitari: 'that Labienus was being tampered with.' Why Labienus, the best of all Caesar's generals in Gaul, deserted him in the Civil War is unknown; but he became the very bitterest of all against him, and outdid all the rest of the Pompeians in cruelty. See especially § viii. 141-151, and ix. 309-312. See also Introd. xxiv. 196.
- 24. aliquid: 'to do something or other,' so as to give the senate a handle against him. It does not mean 'to do anything,' as that would require quidquam. Compare § x. 9.
 - 25. Introd. p. xxiii. 163-172.
- 27. neque obscure . . . detrahuntur: 'and both these legions are taken quite openly from Caesar only.' Caesari, dat. of disadvantage after a verb of depriving. These verbs usually take the abl., but adimo as well as detraho takes the dative.
 - 29. provinciae Caesaris, i.e. levied in Cisalpine Gaul.
- 35. quae praesidia tueatur, ex quibus praesidiis. This is the real construction of every relative clause, the antecedent existing both in

principal and dependent clause, though it is almost always understood in either one or the other, much more usually in the relative clause. Here it is expressed in both.

- 37-38. C. Trebonium, C. Fabium. See Biog. Index.
- 41. Three Marcelli were consuls in three consecutive years: M. Marcellus in B.C. 51, C. Marcellus in 50, and another C. Marcellus (cousin of the last) in 49. All three were opponents of Caesar.
- 48. This is the beginning of Caesar's de Bello Civili. A piece, probably short, is lost at the end of the de Bel. Gal., no doubt mentioning, among other things, Labienus' desertion to the enemy. When Caesar heard of it he sent his luggage after him.
- 48. litteris redditis. This letter was Caesar's ultimatum. Introd. p. xxiii. 173. He made large concessions in it, offering to give up Transalpine Gaul at once, and Cisalpine Gaul in July B.C. 49, as soon as he should have been elected consul for 48. From July 49 to January 48 he would then have lived at Rome as a private citizen. He made no stipulation about Pompeius also giving up his army and Province. But the senate would not even consider this offer.
- 49. ut vero ex litteris referretur. This impersonal clause is the subject to *potuit*. 'That a motion should be made on the proposals in the letter could not be obtained.'
- 51. praesentis exercitus: 'an army close at hand,' the two legions at Capua under Pompeius' command. Introd. p. xxiii. 163.
- 53. **Scipionis**: Metellus Scipio, Pompeius' father-in-law. See Biog. Index.
 - 55. intercedit . . . tribuni plebis : Introd. p. xiv. 20.
 - 56. dicuntur sententiae graves: 'violent proposals are put forward.'
- 59. ad vesperum: 'in the evening.' The senate might not legally sit after nightfall.
- 60. a Pompeio evocantur; Pompeius was in the suburbs. He might not come within the city walls, as he was the commander of an army.
- 62. spe ordinum: 'promise of the command of a century.' Introd. p. ix. 8, xi. 64.
- evocantur: Introd. p. xii. 120: 'are asked to rejoin the colours' as evocati. In line 60 evocantur is used not in this sense but in its original meaning.
- 64. tribunis (i.e. *militum*) centurionibus, evocatis: Introd. p. ix. 15, xii. 120.
 - 66-71. For the meaning see Introd. p. xxi. 126.
- 70. Asiae Syriaeque: they were to have been sent against the Parthians. See Introd. p. xxiii. 163-172.

- 73. decurritur: 'recourse is had.'
- 73-78. Introd. p. xxiii. 180-186. This decree, which gave the magistrates power of life and death within the city, had only been passed three times before this, viz., against C. Gracchus, B.C. 121, against Saturninus and Glaucia, B.C. 100, and against Catilina, B.C. 63. In each of these cases there was supposed to be a plot against the-republic, and the offender had sooner or later been killed.
 - 74. quo: adverb.
- 78. ante diem . . . Jan.: The real construction of this phrase is die septimo ante Idus Januarias. The next step was that the Romans moved ante to the beginning of the phrase, as if ante-die were one word meaning 'preceding-day'; and then, forgetting the original construction, they put die septimo into the acc., as if it were dependent on ante. Find in the Grammar what day this was.
- 80. tribuni plebis: M. Antonius (the celebrated Mark Antony) and Q. Cassius. The persons of tribunes were sacred, and the danger in which this decree put them was treated by Caesar as sacrilege.
- 81. Ravenna, on the coast between the Padus and Rubico, and near the borders of Caesar's Province.
- 82. suis lenissimis postulatis: 'his very moderate demands'; contained in the letter mentioned, § i. 47.
- qua: abl. from qui indefinite. Quis and qui are used for 'any' after num, ne, and si.
- 84. extra urbem: so that Pompeius could be present. See Note on line 60 above.
 - 87. cognitum compertumque: understand esse. alteno animo: abl. of quality, 'were ill-disposed.'
- 89. aut sequantur saltem: 'or at any rate follow him' in invading Italy.
- 91. arma imperantur: impero is only intrans. with regard to the person on whom the command is laid, but transitive with regard to the thing commanded. Thus Imperat hoc mihi: 'he lays this command upon me,' and in passive, Hoc mihi imperatur: 'this command is laid upon me.'
 - 92. municipiis: Introd. p. xvii. 96.
- 94. contionor: (contio, contraction for conventio) 'to deliver a public speech,' either to an army or to a public assembly. It could not be used of a speech made to the senate or any select assembly.
- 97. cujus 1980, etc. : Introd. Life of Caesar, esp. p. xviii. 19-22, xx. 63-77.
- 98-104. Notice the tenses of the subjunctives in this indirect speech: (1) faverit and fuerit, primary tenses, following present queritur;

(2) notaretur, and opprimeretur, historic tenses, following present queritur; (3) gesserint, fecerint, pacaverint, defendant, primary tenses, following present hortatur. The historic present may be treated either as a primary or a historic tense, and the tenses that follow it may therefore be either primary or historic, though more usually in Caesar they are primary.

100. intercessio: Introd. p. xiv. 23. notaretur: 'branded,' 'visited.'

101. cujus imperatoris, etc.: Order Hortatur ut ejus (imperatoris) existimationem . . . defendant, cujus imperatoris ductu . . . gesserint. For real construction of a relative clause see note on § i. 35.

novem annis. The accusative of duration would be much more usual here. He treats their whole nine years' service in Gaul, however, as one epoch, and therefore gives it the construction of point of time.

103. Germaniam: a great exaggeration. He had driven back the German king, Ariovistus, across the Rhine, B.C. 58, and twice had made invasions across the Rhine of a few days' duration, viz. in B.C. 55 and 53. The two German Provinces on the Rhine were not formed till Augustus' time.

104. legionis tertiae decimae: brought across the Alps to do garrison duty in place of the fifteenth, which he had had to send to the pretended Parthian war, § i. 34.

106. evocaverat: 'had called out of winter quarters.' In this Section evoco is used in three senses: (1) line 60, in its simple sense; (2) as here; (3) line 62, 65, and often, in the sense of 'calling out a time-expired man.'

SECTION II.

1. Ariminum proficiscitur. Between Ravenna and Ariminum Caesar had to cross the little stream of the Rubicon, which separated his Province of Cisalpine Gaul from Italy. To cross this was to make war on his country. Hence 'crossing the Rubicon' has become a proverbial expression for 'taking an irrevocable step.' Plutarch (Caesar) gives a celebrated story about it, that 'when he reached the Rubicon he stood for a long time on its banks in doubt whether he should cross or not, and discussing with his friends the terrible evils which such a step would bring on his country, and what posterity would think of it. Several times he changed his mind; but suddenly exclaiming, 'The die is cast,' he crossed the river; and before daylight he took the great

town of Ariminum.' This story has been further embellished by other writers, but there is no foundation whatever for it. Caesar does not even mention the Rubicon; he never hesitated at all; he had made up his mind long ago.

cum ea legione: the 13th, § i. 104.

- 2. tribunos plebis: M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, § i. 55 and 80. convenio, in the sense of 'to meet,' or 'to pay a call on,' takes an accusative.
- 5-7. Arrettum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam. See Maps 1 and 3. Two roads led from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul: (1) the Via Flaminia, through Umbria to Ariminum, reaching the Adriatic near Fanum; (2) the Via Cassia, through Etruria by Arretium to Bononia. Caesar could not tell by which Pompeius would advance; and as the Apennines lay between these roads, he had to occupy each with half of his small force.
- 8. Iguvium: some distance towards Rome by the Via Flaminia route.
 - 10. Curionem. See Biographical Index.
- 12. voluntate: confido and diffido generally take a dat. of the person trusted in, or an abl. of the thing trusted in.
 - 17. cohortes . . . Auximumque proficiscitur.

This was a decisive step, for Auximum was beyond Fanum, and so south of the point where the Via Flaminia turned inland towards Rome. So that (1) he was now cutting himself off from his Province if Pompeius advanced against him; (2) he showed that his plan was not to advance on Rome, but to cut Pompeius off from Brundisium if possible. The Italians were so plainly on his side that he felt he could take this risk.

- 18. Attius Varus. See Biog. Index (Varus).
- 19. delectum toto Piceno habebat. Pompeius had large estates in Picenum, so that it was likely to be a favourable recruiting ground for him.
 - 20. decuriones Auximi: Introd. p. xvii. 97.
 - 21. sui judicii: 'that it was not a thing within their own discretion.'
- 24. tantis rebus gestis: 'after such exploits,' referring to his Gallic conquests.
- 25. habeat . . . sui: 'let Varus take thought for the future and his own peril' (or, as we should say, 'safety'). Habeat, indirect command.
 - 27. ordine: 'century.' Introd. p. ix. 8.
- 28. consecuti: sequer, 'follow' consequer, 'follow till you are alongside,' 'overtake,' or (of things) 'obtain'; subsequer, 'follow close

on the heels of'; persequor, 'follow continuously'; assequor, 'follow up to' till you catch.

- 31. primi pili centurio... qui hunc eundem ordinem duxerat: Introd. p. x. 33, xi. 64.
- 36. Romam nuntiatis: acc. of motion towards; 'news being brought to Rome.'
- 39. aperto sanctiore aerario. This was a Special Treasury containing a fund set apart since ancient days to meet a Gallic invasion. Lentulus had just opened it, when he heard the false rumour and fled. The alarm of Lentulus was perfectly groundless; Caesar was not on the road to Rome at all, but to Brundisium.

The Roman Treasury was in the Temple of Saturn on the ascent to the Capitoline Hill.

- 40. jam jamque: 'at that very moment.'
- 41. hunc : Lentulus.
- 45. citra Capuam: 'on the side of Capua nearer to Rome.'
- 46. sese confirmant et colligunt: 'recover and reorganise themselves.
- 47. colonorum: 'colonists.' These were old soldiers of Pompeius in his Asiatic campaigns, to whom Caesar had given lands in his consulship, B.C. 59. See Biog. Index: Pompeius.
- 49. praefecturae: Introd. p. xvii. 96. Since all the Italians had been given the Roman citizenship in B.C. 89, during the Social War, there was probably now no difference except in name between the coloniae, praefecturae and municipia.
- 51. quod oppidum Lab. constituerat: 'a town which Labienus had founded.' Labienus was now Caesar's enemy. Note on § i. 22, and Introd. p. xxiv. 196.
 - 54. Milites imperat. For construction, see note on § i. 91.
- 57. decem cohortibus. As cum is omitted, this must be the ablative of the instrument. Ten battalions of soldiers were, as it were, his weapon.
- 59. Domitium Ahenobarbum: always a most bitter enemy of Caesar. Introd. p. xx. 71-77, and Biog. Index.
- 60. Corfinium, an important fortress, the chief town of the Peligni. In the Social War against Rome, B.C. 90-89, the revolted Italians made it their capital, and changed its name to Italica.
 - 62. per se: 'on his own account.'
- 74. regionum: gen. depending on peritos, a transitive adjective implying skill.
- 78. quaterna in singulos jugera: distributive numerals, '4 jugera per man.' A jugerum was rather more than half an acre. Domitius promises an army of 33 cohorts (there are 13 more cohorts mentioned

in the full text of Caesar), i.e. nominally close on 20,000 men, nearly 3 acres apiece from his own estates. This gives some idea of the enormous size a Roman noble's estate might be. The amount distributed would be about 100 square miles.

79. pro rata parte, etc.: 'in the usual proportion.' A centurion's proportion was twice a private's.

- 82. eo triduo: 'in that space of three days,' i.e. in three days from that time.
- 84. rege Norico: some unknown prince. Noricum was South Bavaria. It reached from the Alps to the Danube, due north of the head of the Adriatic.
 - 86. reliquis diebus: 'on the following days.'
- 92. usu1: dative of purpose, 'the things which were for using,' i.e. useful.
- 92, 93. ne deficiant, . . . parent: indirect command depending on hortatur. The negative belongs only to deficiant, not to parent also.
 - 93. arcano: adverb.
- 98. suo: refers to Pompeius, the subject of rescripserat; se, to Domitius, the subject of contulisse.
- 101. prima vesperi: understand vigilia. The Roman night, from sunrise to sunset, was divided into four watches. This would have been soon after dark, about 5 o'clock, as it was midwinter.

secessio: 'a separate meeting' of their own, not summoned by the commander.

- 102. honestissimos sui generis. Honestus always 'honourable,' not 'honest,' 'the most distinguished of the privates.'
 - 105. cujus: objective genitive, 'in hope and reliance on whom.' projectis omnibus: 'throwing them all over.'
- 112. magni interesse: gen. of price; 'it was important at a great price,' 'it was highly important.'
- 119. perpetuis vigiliis stationibusque: 'with a continuous line of sentries and pickets.'
 - 121. praefectos: Introd. p. xii. 117.

non is used here, not ne, because it belongs to solum, not to caveant.

122. caveant: indirect command; ut is often omitted.

123-125. neque vero . . . exspectatio: no wonder they were excited. This was the first real opposition Caesar had met with, and his conduct to the captives and the town and townsmen, and to his bitter personal enemy, L. Domitius, would be taken as a sign of the spirit in which he meant to conduct the war. His clemency must have exceeded their very wildest hopes.

- 123 tam remisso et languido animo: abl. of quality, 'of so impassive and lazy a disposition.'
 - 124. qui=ut ille, consecutive.
- 125. conquieverit. The perf. subj. is often used after an historic tense in consecutive sentences, when the action is quite completed. Bradley's *Arnold*, §§ 112-116.

summae rerum : 'the crisis.'

- 127-132. equites Romanos, quaestor, decuriones, etc.: Introd. p. xiv. 18, xvi. 66, xvii. 97.
- 135. relata non sit: subjunctive after quod in implied Or. Obl.; 'because, said he, gratitude had not been shown.'
- 136. Sostertium Sexagies: sestertium, gen. plur. contracted. When a numeral adverb stands with sestertium the words centena millia are always understood. Thus the full phrase is sexagies (centena millia) sestertiorum, '6,000,000 sestertii.' A sestertius = about 2d. (see note on § iv. 126). So this sum was about £50,000, which Caesar gave back to Domitius.
 - 138. duumviris Corfiniensibus: Introd. p. xvii. 97.
- 139. sacramentum apud se dicere: 'to take the military oath to him.' For the fate of these men see note on line 150 below.
- 141, 143. ad Corfinium: 'in the neighbourhood of Corfinium.' The preposition is used with names of towns when it is not the town itself, but its neighbourhood that is meant. So ad Corfinium, 'to the neighbourhood,' or 'in the neighbourhood of Corfinium'; a Corfinio (line 150 below), 'from the neighbourhood of Corfinium.' This passage is a good instance, as Caesar did not remain seven days in Corfinium, but only encamped before it.
 - 142. Larinum, one of the northernmost towns of Apulia.
- 148. veteranis tribus: viz., the 13th, which had started with him from Ravenna, § i. 105, ii. 1; the 12th, which overtook him just before he reached Asculum, § ii. 54; the 8th, which caught him up at Corfinium, § ii. 82.
- 150. Domitianas... miserat: under command of Curio. They won Sicily without a blow; landed in Africa, and defeated and besieged Attius Varus in Utica; but when King Juba and his Numidians advanced to raise the siege, Curio imprudently engaged him with a tired army, and the whole force, with its clever young commander, was annihilated, the greatest disaster that befell Caesar's cause throughout the Civil War (summer, B.C. 49).
 - a Corfinio. See note on line 141 above.
- 151 Dyrrhachium; the Greek Epidamnus, so well known in Greek history as the cause of the Peloponnesian war. Brundisium to

Dyrrhachium was to the Romans what Dover to Calais is to us. From Dyrrhachium started one branch of the great Via Egnatia, the high-road to the East, which ran to Thessalonica, and was ultimately prolonged almost to the Hellespont.

- 154. ne . . . an : a double indirect question, 'whether . . . or.'
- 155. veritus ... ne non: vereor ne, 'I fear that'; vereor ne ... non or vereor ut, 'I fear that ... not.' Vereor ut non is never used.
 - 158. jaciebat: imperf. 'he began to throw.'
- 159. quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis: 'by four anchors apiece from the four corners.' The first is distributive numeral for each raft had four anchors, the second is cardinal for each corner had only one anchor.
- 166. eminus (e manus), 'at a distance'; comminus (cum manus), 'at close quarters,' 'hand to hand.'
- 168. ita administrabat . . . ut non existimaret: 'was conducting these operations in such a spirit as not to consider that hopes of peace must be abandoned,' i.e. though he went on with his military operations, yet he did not think,' etc., Introd. p. xxiii. 191-206. There were many other attempts at negotiation which are omitted in this Abridgment.
 - 170. Scribonius Libo. See Biog. Index.
- 172. 1986: Caesar. A personal interview with Pompeius was what he wanted most, Introd. p. xxiv. 201.
- 174. fore ut discedatur: lit. 'that it would happen in such a way that it would be departed.' Fore with ut consecutive is one of the ways of putting the fut. infin. pass. in Latin.
- 177. illo auctore atque agente: a good passage to illustrate the two kinds of abl. absol. We have first a substantive and then a participle forming the abl. absol. with illo, 'Libo being the prime mover and conducting the negotiations, i.e. 'by Libo's advice and agency.'
 - 179. Paulo post: abl. of measure; lit. 'afterwards by a little.'
 - 184. Dyrrhachio: ablative.
 - 188. adventu: ablative of time.
 - quo facilius. See note on § i. 18.
- 189. sub: 'under protection of,' as if the confusion at the moment of departure was a kind of cover behind which Caesar's men could creep up.
- 190. plateas: a Greek word, πλατεία. Consequently ε usually long.
- 191. praeducit: prae in composition often means 'along the front,' or 'edge'; so 'dug ditches across the heads of the streets'; praeacutos, 'sharpened at the point'; praecludo, 'to shut in a person's face,' § x. 115; toga praetexta, 'woven along the edge.'

This ditch-digging and laying turf or other materials over the top is a very common device both in war and hunting. The Scotch did it to entrap the English cavalry at Bannockburn. Explosive mines such as Gordon laid round Khartoum have now somewhat taken its place.

196. silentio: one of the ablatives of manner which has almost become a real adverb, and requires no epithet or cum.

expeditos: Introd. p. xiii. 126. He kept up the appearance of defence to the last moment.

197. sagittariis funditoribusque. These would probably be foreigners. Introd. p. xi. 78.

199. expedito loco: 'free from obstacles in reaching it,' 'convenient.' See note on § iv. 151.

actuaria (actus, ago): 'boats that would row as well as sail,' the object being to get clear out of the harbour as quick as possible.

203. illis: sc. Pompeianis militibus.

204. vulgo... significabant: 'they everywhere kept making signals from the houses to him'; vulgo, adverb.

206. quam: acc. from indefinite qui following ne, note on § i. 82.

207. sub noctem: sub with acc. 'just before,' so 'at nightfall.' Sub nocte: 'under cover of night.'

208. quod convenerat: 'which had been agreed on,' an idiomatic sense of convenio.

211. caecum vallum: 'wall with no outlet'; 'blind,' in the sense of our 'blind alley.' Others translate the word 'concealed wall.'

SECTION III.

- 2. duumviris municipiorum: Introd. p. xvii. 99.
- 4. deducendas curent: 'have them brought to Brundisium.' Note this very common idiom, aliquid efficiendum curare, 'to take care of a thing to be done,' i.e. to have it done.
- 5. For the ultimate fate of this force see note on § ii. 150. The legions were Domitius' soldiers, who had now taken the oath to Caesar.
- 7. Occupo and obtineo have in English almost reversed their meanings. Occupo, 'to seize upon,' 'to obtain'; obtineo, 'to keep when you have got,' 'to occupy.'
- 9. naves longas: 'ships of war,' built for speed; opposite to naves onerariae or rotundae, which were more tub-shaped, and built for carrying capacity.

novas civitatibus imperabat. For full construction of impero see note on § i. 91. Both the nearer and remoter objects are here expressed.

For Curio, Cato, Tubero, see Biog. Index.

- 15. omnibus rebus: abl. of respect, 'utterly unprepared in every respect.' Cato spoke the truth: Pompeius was caught napping. When questioned about his preparations shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War, he said: 'I have but to stamp my foot and all Italy will rise.' It did rise-but for Caesar, not for Pompeius.
- 16-18. suscepisset . . . confirmavisset : subjunct. because Or. Obl. depending on queritur. Queritur being a historic present might here be followed either by a primary or a historic tense. Note on § i. 98-104.
- 20. Tubero had been sent out as governor of Africa by the senate; Attius Varus had coolly taken possession on his own account, and refused to let Tubero land. Both were Pompeians.
 - 21. ut supra demonstravimus, § ii. 20-30. ad Auximum. See note on § ii. 141.

 - 25. valetudine: abl. of respect, 'touched in health.'
- 28. ut reliquum . . . intermitteretur: 'that the succeeding time might be a rest from work for them.'
- 29. milites . . . deducit. He lest them in quarters in Apulia during the rest of the year B.C. 49; and for the conquest of Massilia and Spain picked up a fresh army, consisting of the legions he had left in Transalpine Gaul.
 - 31. honorem: 'office,' not 'honour.'
- 32. exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus. It was unlawful for a man to hold the consulship again within ten years of having laid down his last. Caesar had been consul B.C. 59, and wished to be so again for B.C. 48. All the special privilege he had asked now was to be allowed to be a candidate for the consulship without coming home to Rome, a thing that had often been granted to others.
- 34. in quo = ut (of consequence) in eo: 'so that he was going himself to make a sacrifice therein,' etc.

jacturam: lit. 'throwing away,' 'throwing overboard.' He would thereby throw up his Province.

- 36. in eripiendis legionibus: the two legions mentioned § i. 25, and Introd. p. xxiii. 163.
- 37. in circumscribendis tr. pl., § i. 73, and Introd. p. xxiii. 178: 'in depriving of their rights'; lit. 'to draw a line round a man,' so 'to limit his action.'
 - 38. expetita colloquia, § ii. 172 and Introd. p. xxiv. 201.

- 43. qui mitterentur non reperiebantur. It was a question who would bell the cat.
- 46. The order is: se habiturum (esse eos), qui Romae remansissent, et (eos) qui in castris Caesaris fuissent, eodem loco ('in the same light'). Pompeius declared he should regard neutrals as enemies.
 - 50. infectis = non factis.
- 53-54. So Vibullius and L. Domitius, already once captured and spared at Corfinium, were already off to fight against Caesar again.
 - 55. navibus actuariis. See note on § ii. 199.
- 56. libertis. A 'freedman' pure and simple is *libertinus*; but if the master's name is mentioned he is *libertus*; so *Domitii libertus*.
 - colonis: 'farmers,' 'tenants.'
- 62. quindecim primos. These were the 15 presidents of a senate of 600 which formed the government of Massilia. The government was an oligarchy. Hence it sided with Pompeius, the head of the Roman oligarchy.
 - 64. auctoritatem: 'lead,' 'example.'
- 67. neque sui . . . virium: 'it did not lie within their discretion or power to decide,' etc.; lit. 'it was not of their power,' 'it did not belong to their power,' cp. § ii. 21.
- 70. patronos. Each had favoured the Massiliots and increased their territory; Pompeius, at the time of the war with Sertorius, B.C. 72; Caesar, probably some time during the Gallic War, but nothing beyond this passage is known about it.
- 75. In the siege of a fortified place the methods usually adopted were to fill up the ditch and then batter down a part of the wall with a ram (aries), or else undermine it by taking away part of the foundations. This latter was the way in which Massilia was ultimately taken, § vii. 80. To approach near enough to do this, sheds or galleries, called according to their shape, vineae, plutei, testudines or musculi, and open at the ends, were rolled up on wheels to the walls, and the work carried on underneath them. They had to be protected by hides, etc., from the fire thrown from the walls. Besides this the besiegers would roll up on wheels towers of several stories high, taller than the walls, from which, with missiles and engines (tormenta, ballistae), they cleared the defenders off the walls. They also used to build up a mound (agger) of earth, or other materials, equal in height to the top of the walls, up which the besiegers used to walk on to the walls (this the besieged used to counteract by building a semi-circular wall inside); or else the mound was used to erect strong towers on, with better foundations than wheels, for clearing the defenders off the fortifications and shooting down into the town.

The means of defence were engines arranged on the walls; and missiles of all kinds, including combustibles; and sallies to break through or burn the besiegers' works, or destroy their tools and materials.

- 77. Areilte: the modern Arles, where the delta of the Rhone begins. 78. a qua die = ab ea die, qua. For full construction of the relative
- 78. a qua die=ab ea die, qua. For full construction of the relative see note on § i. 35.
- 79. Dec. Brutus was the man who had won the naval victory over the Veneti of Brittany, B.C. 56. Both he and Trebonius were among Caesar's murderers, Dec. Brutus' part being a specially treacherous one. Biog. Index.
 - 85. legato: sc. Pomp ii.
 - 86. subsequi. See note on § ii. 28 for compounds of sequor.

SECTION IV.

- 2. demonstratum est : § iii. 53.
- 4. Lusitania more or less corresponded with Portugal. The Vettones lived in the west of Spain between the Durius and Tagus.
 - 5. Varro. See Biographical Index.
- 6. Hispania Citerior and Ulterior were divided by the Iberus. The Spanish Provinces were redivided and renamed thirty years after this by Augustus.
 - 8. ad Herdam. For preposition see note on § ii. 141.
- 9. propter ipsius loci opportunitatem. A glance at the map will show its advantages. Ilerda, is on the Sicoris, the nearest to the Mediterranean of those tributaries of the Iberus which flow out of the Pyrenees, and therefore the most convenient river valley for an army marching from Gaul to follow in order to reach the Iberus. By holding Ilerda, Afranius and Petreius blocked Caesar's path.
- 11-12. scutatae, cetratae cohortes: 'battalions of shield-men and targeteers.' These were Spanish auxiliaries. The scutum was a large oblong shield, 4 feet by 2½ feet, made of wood and bound with iron and leather. The Romans used it themselves. The cetra was a light round shield of leather, used by the Spaniards, Moors, and Britons; probably the same as the Highlanders' 'target.'
- 15. mutuas pecunias: 'borrowed money,' 'a loan.' This was a very artful device of Caesar's, but, considering the enthusiasm his troops showed for him, one is surprised that he thought it needful.
 - 19. C. Fabius: sent on by Caesar to commence operations, § iii. 81.
 - 20. pontes duos : marked B on Map 4.

- 21. pabulatum: supine, from pabulor. The supine in -um is an accusative of purpose, but can only be used after verbs of motion. The object of mittebat is 'men' understood.
- 26. eo biduo: 'in that interval of two days,' i.e. two days later, § ii. 82.
- 28. triplici acie, i.e. in three lines, roughly as in diagram, Introd. p. x. 43.
 - ad Herdam. For preposition see note on § ii. 141.
 - 31. in medio colle: 'halfway up the hill.'
- 32. per Afranium stare quominus. Note this phrase, 'that (the cause) rested with Afranius that a battle was not fought,' 'that it was Afranius' doing that,' etc.
 - 37. eminere: 'stand out' above the general level of the plain.
- 38. a fronte. Direction in these phrases is always shown by the preposition ab. Thus a fronte, 'in front,' a tergo, 'in rear,' a dextra, 'on the right,' etc. The reason is that the direction is thought of from the point of view of the outsider looking at it, not of the person engaged.
- 38. quindecim pedum: 15 feet wide, not deep. By drawing up his troops in front and digging a trench behind him he prevented the enemy seeing what he was doing, till it was too late to prevent him; and the camp, when completed, utterly prevented the Pompeians from making any movement northwards on that bank of the Sicoris.
 - 41. prius . . . quam : one word; divided as usual.
 - 42. sub vesperum. Note on § ii. 207.
 - 47. expeditas. Introd. p. xiii. 125.
- Afranius Petreiusque. Afranius was in chief command as the campaign was being conducted in his district, whither Petreius had come from his own district to join him; but Petreius was far the braver man and better general. It was he who in B.C. 63 had defeated and killed Catilina.
- 51. praesidio: abl. after confisus. For construction of confido and diffido see note on § ii. 12.
- 58. passuum trecentorum: about 500 yards. The Roman passus was a double pace, from where the foot leaves the ground to where the same foot comes down again, i.e. about 5 feet. The single pace was gradus.
- 59. paulo editior: 'more elevated by a little' than the surrounding country. Paulo, ablative of measure.
- 63. antesignanos: 'men in the first line,' originally the signa were placed between the hastati and principes (Introd. p. x.), and when this distinction died out they were still placed between the first and second lines. Those in the first line were now picked men, instead of being the youngest soldiers.

- 70-78. This system of loose fighting the soldiers of Afranius learnt from the local tactics of the Spaniards, but it put out Caesar's men considerably, who thought they were being surrounded, when really only a few skirmishers, without support, had outflanked them. The Caesarians soon got used to this however.
 - 75. pugnae : dative.
 - 85. Illi: the Pompeians.
- 88. biduo, quo: 'in the space of two days on which,' i.e. 'within two days of the time when.'
 - 91. proluit : tempestas is the subject.
- 95. spatio millium triginta. Caesar has rather overstated the distance, as the two rivers are only about fifteen or twenty miles apart at Ilerda. But at any rate it is plain that from the time the bridges broke down, the whole of Caesar's supplies had to be drawn from the comparatively narrow country between the Sicoris and Cinca.
 - 97. omnes: all Caesar's soldiers.
 - 103. copia: ablative.
 - 107. Herdae: locative case.
 - 108. integra: (in tango) 'untouched,' 'unexhausted.'
 - 115. de nocte: 'in the night,' same meaning as noctu.
- 116. imprudentes: (contraction of improvidentes) 'unforeseeing,' off their guard,' 'by surprise.'
- 117. expediunt: 'extricate themselves' from their confusion; 'fall in' almost expresses it. See note on § iv. 151.
- 122-123. magnum attulit momentum: 'produced great results.'
 The meaning is that during the time the cavalry were holding the enemy in check, the convoy was making its way to a place of safety.
- 124. desidero means to 'regret' something you have lost; hence an apt word to express the loss in a battle.
- 126. ad denarios quinquaginta in singulos modios. The denarius (see below) at this time=about 8d. The modius=nearly two gallons, i.e. one peck. Thus the price of corn was now £1. 13s. 4d. per peck. Its ordinary price was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ sestertii (=7d.) per peck. Corn must indeed have been scarce.

The most important Roman coins at this time were :-

- The as, which had originally been 1 lb. of copper, had been gradually reduced till about B.C. 200 it was fixed at $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of copper, at which it henceforth always remained. (Ramsay, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 410, 415, 419.)

- 128. militum vires inopia frumenti deminuerat: corn was what the Roman soldier could not do without. In § ix. 95, when Caesar was besieging Pompeius at Petra, we hear of the dreadful distress his soldiers had to endure for want of corn,—though they had as much cattle as ever they could want.
 - 130. uberiora: 'more copious,' i.e. exaggerated.
 - 131. ut: consecutive.
- 133. magni domum, etc. Afranius of course was not there; but every one went to call at his house and leave their congratulations.
 - 135. principes: 'first'; novissimi: 'last.'
 - 141. cujus generis: = ejus generis, quod.

usus Britanniae: 'his experience of Britain.' These boats are nothing more nor less than the coracles to be seen to this day on Welsh rivers; so light that a man can carry them about, but capable of holding several people.

- 142. statumina : 'ribs.'
- 145. milites flumen transportat: both the preposition and the verb have an acc. dependent on them, 'he carries-his-men across-the-river.' The same is the case with trajicio, transduco, and many other compound verbs, § iv. 152, magnam partem flumen trajecit.
- 147. priusquam always takes the subjunct. when purpose is implied: 'fortifies it in haste before he could be detected.'
- 151. expedio: (ex pes) always implies to get out of a difficulty, to set free; expediti, 'soldiers without encumbrance'; § iv. 117, equites sese expediunt, 'the cavalry extricate themselves from the confusion'; § v. 2, naves expediunt, 'equip and get ready the ships for sea'; § ii. 196, expedito loco, 'in a convenient place'; so rem frumentariam expedire, 'to get his commissariat out of its difficulties.' Impedio and impeditus is the opposite of this.
 - 152. magnam trajecit. See note on § iv. 145.

SECTION V.

- I. L. Domitius. Biographical Index, and § iii. 54 and 72.
- 2. expediunt: 'get ready for sea.' Note on § iv. 151. naves longas. Note on § iii. 9.
- 3. tectae: 'decked'; elsewhere (§ viii. 54) called constratae.
- 5. Albicorum: mountaineers from the neighbourhood of Massilia, mentioned § iii. 57.
 - 7. certas: 'a separate squadron of ships.'
 - 8. colonis. See note on § iii. 56.

- 14. antesignanos: 'soldiers of the first line,' a picked corps. Note on § iv. 63.
- 15. id muneris: 'that kind of service.' Genitive of the thing measured; cp. satis eloquentiae.
- 16. manus ferreas atque harpagones. Dec. Brutus, being far inferior in nautical skill to the enemy, tried (like Duilius, who in B.C. 260, in the first Punic war, won Rome's first naval victory) to turn the sea fight into a land fight, by means of grappling their ships and boarding them.
- 17. tragula: a lance with a barbed head, mentioned both in Gallic and Spanish warfare. The Roman pilum was much heavier, and not barbed.
 - 23. celeritate: abl. after confido. Note on § ii. 12.
- 26. transcurrentes: nominative. The manœuvre was to run close past the enemy and brush away the whole of his oars on one side. They must have shipped their own oars, or they would have had them carried away too.
 - 29-31. cum . . . tum: 'both . . . and.'
- 31. gravitate et tarditate navium: these ships had been built in a hurry, we are told, and of green wood.
 - 32. dum with subjunctive, not 'whilst,' but 'provided that.'
 - 33. aequo animo : 'bravely.'

singulas binis navibus: distributives, because they engaged two of the enemy with each of their own.

34. diversi: 'in all parts of the battle,' 'in every direction.' The siege of Massilia is continued and concluded in § vii.

SECTION VI.

- 1. Hoc. Dec. Brutus' naval victory at Massilia related in § v.
- 2. illi: the enemy.

virtute equitum. It was entirely by his masterly use of his cavalry in this campaign that Caesar reduced Afranius and Petreius without a battle. In his campaign against Pompeius next year he had to contend against a cavalry seven times as numerous as his own, and yet held his own against him by his genius and resource, hitting on the expedient of mixing active young infantry with his cavalry.

- 4. intermittere: 'to leave intervals of several days.'
- 6. signa, etc.: 'and bring over their colours from the guard on which they were posted.' The desertion of a complete Spanish battalion, while actually on duty, was sure to weigh heavily with the other Spanish tribes.
 - 8. expedita re frumentaria. Note on § iv. 151.

- 11. magno circuitu. Caesar's new bridge (C) was 22 miles down stream from his camp, § iv. 145.
- 12. fossas, etc. Map 4 (D). In precisely the same way Cyrus on his way to attack Babylon made a knee-deep ford across the river Gyndes by draining off the water through a number of artificial channels. Herodot. i. 202.
 - 18. Celtiberia was south of the Iberus.
- 19. toto flumine Ibero: when totus, medius, imus, and similar epithets of position are used with a substantive, we very often have the preposition omitted even in prose, even though the place named may not be a town.
- 21. a castris: sc. Afranii. Afranius' camp was a good deal further down the Sicoris than Caesar's.
 - 22. navibus junctis: i.e. a bridge of boats.
- 23. fleri: the infinitive, instead of ut with subjunct., after impero is unusual.
- 30, 31. exstarent and impedirentur dependent on the ut consecutive above.
 - 30. cum . . . tum : 'both . . . and.'
- 33. vadum reperlebatur: 'the ford over the Sicoris began to be discovered' by the Pompeians, i.e. they began to find out that Caesar was making a ford.
 - 39. male haberet: 'handle roughly.'
- 42. de tertia vigilia: there were four watches in the Roman night, from sunset to sunrise, and it was now late spring or early summer; so this would probably be between midnight and 3 A.M.
 - 47. equitatus nostri : genitive.
- 48. sustinere extremum agmen: 'it was seen that their rearguard awaited their onset and were broken through.' Sustineo is transitive, its object being equitatum nostrum.
 - 50. circulari . . . dolere . . . adire . . . obsecrare : historic infinitives.
- 51. necessario longius duci: 'was being protracted longer than was needful.'
- 53. Here is one instance out of many of the intense admiration of Caesar for the courage of his soldiers. He relates their deeds of valour and devotion with the utmost enthusiasm, often mentioning the individuals by name. He loved his soldiers, and entered into all their feelings as if he were one of themselves. Hence their affection for him. He called on them for exertions such as few generals have ever demanded of their soldiers. Yet throughout his long Gallic wars he never had a mutiny; and though there were two during the Civil War they were both among troops from whom he had been long absent,

and as soon as ever he arrived he quelled them by a mere word. It is said that one of the strongest points in Nelson was his enthusiasm for his officers and men. He was never tired of praising them, and always thought he had the very best in the service. Consequently they would do anything for him, and he always got their very best work out of them. The same might be said of Caesar. For other instances of this see §§ viii. 194, ix. 96, 139, xi. 194; also §§ ix. 223 and xi. 115 and 246, these last two being stories of personal courage and devotion.

54. ea, qua: understand via.

61. expeditas: Introd. p. xiii. 126.

The plan was as follows: In spite of Caesar's canals (line 12 above) the river was still breast-high and very rapid; so he placed a line of beasts of burden across it, above the crossing-place, to break the force of the current, and another line below, mingled with some cavalry, to pick up any who might be washed off their feet. In this manner the whole army crossed without the loss of a man.

- 65. triplicem aciem: the ordinary Roman fighting formation, the same as in diagram, Introd. p. x. 41, except that the fighting line, support, and reserve were no longer called *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*.
 - 67. Caesar praising his men again. See note on line 53 above.
- 69. eos, qui, etc.: this would roughly mean that in spite of having had a march of six miles to reach the ford, and a long delay while they were crossing it, they caught up, before three in the afternoon, Afranius' troops, who had started before three in the morning. The cavalry had been harassing the enemy all day, and compelling them to halt and repel them.
- 73. ne defessum, etc. Caesar was content with making the Pompeians halt. He had no intention of engaging them with a tired army, if he could help it.
 - 74. IIII: Afranius' men.

necessario: adverb; not an abl. after maturius.

76. suberant: 'were close at hand.' We hear afterwards that they were five miles off (line 93 below). For sub-, when compounded, see note on § xi. 231.

recipiebant: the imperf. expresses 'were trying to retreat'; they never succeeded.

79. traducerent: depending on the ut (of purpose) above.

84. correptis: abl. absol. with iis; does not agree with equitibus.

86. vasa militari more conclamari: lit. 'that the shout for packing up the baggage should be raised in the usual military fashion.' This was a well-known preliminary to striking camp and marching. The Pompeians wishing to steal out unobserved at night had naturally

omitted this noisy proceeding; Caesar, wishing to stop them, allowed his men to make the usual noise, to show the enemy that he knew what they were about.

- 87. impediti: see note on § iv. 151; the opposite of expediti.
- 93. proxima: to be taken closely with intercedere, 'came next.'
- 94. excipere : 'followed.'

qui prior, etc. The order is: nihil negotii esse hostem prohiberi ab hoc qui prior occupaverit has angustias.

- 98. albente caelo: 'as the sky grew light,' 'at dawn.'
- 99. nullo certo itinere: 'not by any regular track,' i.e. across country.

 magno circuitu. As his camp was in rear of Afranius', in order to pass him he marched out of the rear gate of his camp (porta decu-

Derda Casar's March Line of Battle

PLAN 8.

mana) in the direction he had come from, then bore round to the right to the mountains. Afranius naturally supposed him to be retreating for want of provisions to some new and unexhausted ground in the direction of Tarraco and the sea. But on reaching the mountains he wheeled again to the right, this wheel bringing his line of march straight towards the Iberus—the opposite direction to that in which he had started. Caesar repeated this stratagem with signal success next year on Pompeius himself, § ix. 33-46, cutting him off thereby from Dyrrhachium.

- 101. Ipsi: dative.
- 103. per manus: 'from hand to hand.'
- 108-113. See note on line 99 above.
- 110. victus: genitive of substantive.
- III. a proposito diversum: 'in a different direction from their real aim.'
 - 112. iri: impersonal, 'The march seemed to be made.'
- 114. superare regionem castrorum: 'pass the level of the camp,' i.e. get nearer the Iberus than the camp was.
- 115. fugiens laboris: fugiens, pres. part. used as an adjective. Transitive adjectives take a genitive of their object. Compare peritos regionum, § ii. 74. So here fugiens, though actually the present participle of a transitive verb, yet being used as an adjective is followed by the genitive, not the accusative.
 - 116. quin = qui (consecutive) non.
 - 117. Conclamatur ad arma: 'The cry, "To arms," is raised.'
 - 120. utri occuparent : indirect question.
 - 121. equitatus, etc. See note on line 2 above.
 - 124. aciem instruit. See Plan 8 in note on line 99 above.
 - 127. cetratorum. See note on § iv. 11.
- 130. jugis Octogesam perveniret. The mountains must have been nearer to Afranius at some other point than that at which the Octogesa road entered them. Afranius now resolved to make for the nearest point, and to reach Octogesa by the mountains instead of by the road.
 - 136. bene gerendae rei: 'of fighting a successful battle.'
- 145-147. Notice Caesar's care for his soldiers' lives, Introd. p. xxvi. 267.
- 149. civium: 'his fellow-citizens,' i.e. the Romans in Afranius' army.
- 150. rem obtinere: 'to keep the advantage.' He had gained his object of cutting off Afranius from Octogesa and all corn supply. He had him encamped in the open at the mercy of his cavalry; his capitulation could only be a question of how long the food he had brought

with him from Ilerda would last. So he allowed him to go back to his camp, which he now besieged.

- 151. plerisque: 'in the judgment of most.'
- 160. aquam: i.e. the Sicoris.
- 163. longius: 'to some distance,' 'rather far,' a frequent sense of the comparative when without an ablative following.
- 165. The order is: quisque conquirit atque evocat quem notum aut municipem habebat in castris (adversariorum). Municipem: 'fellow-townsman.'
 - 168. vivere: understand dicunt out of agunt gratias.
- 169. fidem imperatoris quaerunt: 'they (the Pompeians) ask about the general's (Caesar's) good faith,' *i.e.* whether his word can be trusted. In the next line fidem means 'a promise.'

rectone, etc.: 'whether they would be safe in trusting themselves to him,' etc.

- 172. signa translaturos. Compare line 6 above.
- 173. primorum ordinum centuriones. Introd. p. xi. 61.
- 174. invitandi causa: 'in order to entertain them.'
- 175. una castra ex binis. Unus is only used in the plural with plural words having a singular meaning. To make these words plural a distributive numeral has to be used, as binis here.
- 179-180. A change of feeling in Caesar's soldiers since line 150 above, when they were all grumbling at him.
 - 183. familiam: 'his slaves.'

praetoria cohorte: 'his body-guard.' Praetor was the old word for a 'general'; so praetorium, the 'general's tent' or 'head-quarters.'

- 187. sinistras sagis involvunt: by way of a shield, which they had not brought out of camp. The sagum was the ordinary military cloak, a sort of shawl thrown over the left shoulder and buckled on the right shoulder, leaving the whole right side free. There was thus a good deal of it hanging down on the left side, which they could wrap round their left arm. There is a picture of a standard-bearer wearing a sagum on p. 376 of Ramsay's Roman Antiquities.
 - 189. propinquitate. Note on § ii. 12.
- 192. flens. To our notions the idea of a general running about the camp crying is ridiculous. But the Romans were strangely given to tears. Virgil frequently introduces Aeneas crying; and yet he is meant for a model hero.
 - 195. praetorium. See note on line 183 above.
 - 198. Princeps: adjective.
- 199. adigo: when used of oaths takes two accusatives; one of the oath, the other of the person bound by it.

Such oaths seem to have been common. We have another instance of the whole army, beginning with Labienus, swearing loyalty to Pompeius, § viii. 100.

201. The order is: Edicunt ut (miles Caesaris) producatur (ab eo) penes quem quisque miles Caesaris sit.

203. per vallum: over the rampart, avoiding the gates where a guard would be stationed.

212. postea: no doubt after the capitulation of the whole army, a considerable portion of which took service with Caesar. He then specially rewarded those who had come over to him first.

in ampliores ordines. Introd. p. xi. 61.

213. equites Romanos, tribunicium honorem. Introd. p. xvi. 66 and ix. 15. Romanos is added to show that equites is used in the sense of 'knights,' not in its ordinary sense of 'cavalry.' Those of equestrian rank were made colonels.

216-218. legionarii . . . auxiliares. Introd. p. xi. 66-82. The former were Romans, the latter foreigners.

218. nullam: understand copiam.

222. explicitius: 'simpler,' 'more free from difficulties.'

227. quin = in quo (consecutive) non.

228-229. pugnatur... proceditur... subsistunt: these present tenses are a statement of what *generally* happens on such occasions. 'While fighting of this kind is going on armies make little way,' etc.

232. una fronte contra hostes: i.e. only the side towards the enemy was entrenched, not the others.

233-237. They pretended to encamp, and when Caesar's men had dispersed marched on again; but the cavalry were not caught napping. Caesar himself played this same trick with signal success on Pompeius afterwards when retreating from Petra, after his defeat there, § x. 46-59.

241. universum: nominative, agreeing with agmen Caesaris; not governed by imminebat, which takes the dative.

246. quae supra sunt demonstratae, § vi. 143.

252. processerat: 'had gone forward,' 'was completed.'

257. prior: 'first,' i.e. not to commence the attack.

258. Productur: 'is lengthened out,' 'drags on.'

259. continentur: 'are kept in position.'

260. illi: the Pompeians.

268. si qui. See note on § i. 82.

269. ultimum supplicium : i.e. death.

273. extremam: 'final.'

275. ex ipsa significatione: 'from the signs they made.' For significatio, compare § ii. 204.

276. ut ultro praemium missionis ferrent: depending on pergratum fuit. The acc. with infin. would have been a more usual construction here, 'that they were actually to obtain the boon of their discharge.' The ut in line 275 is 'as.'

victi: nom. agreeing with subject of exspectavissent.

277. incommodi: gen. depending on aliquid.

280. statim: sc. dimittantur.

The Varus (now Var, near Nice) formed the boundary of Gaul and Italy.

282. cavetur: 'it is stipulated.'

283. dum ventatur: 'till such time as they arrived'; dum, 'while,' takes indic. and generally present indic.; dum, 'until' or 'provided that' takes subjunctive.

285. quae sint. As the antecedent is supplied from the clause quod quisque, etc., the words quae sint would be in strict grammar quod sit; but the sense of the clause quod quisque, etc., is really plural, and quae sint is made to agree with the sense and not with the grammar.

Some of Afranius' soldiers took service with Caesar; some, with Afranius himself, as we learn, § xi. 88, joined Pompeius and fought against Caesar at Pharsalia next year. Two years later, in B.C. 46, both Afranius and Petreius perished in the flight after the battle of Thapsus.

SECTION VII.

This Section continues the siege of Massilia, begun § iii. 49-89, continued in § v., and concluded here. The three passages might be read together as one story, as suggested in the Preface.

We now reach Book ii. of Caesar's Civil War, which deals principally with three subjects—(1) the siege and capture of Massilia by Trebonius and Dec. Brutus; (2) the reduction of Varro in Hispania Ulterior by Caesar himself, without a battle, the army coming over to him; (3) the campaign of Curio in Africa, which, after a most successful commencement, ended in his death and the annihilation of his army. (2) and (3) are omitted in this abridgment.

- 1. C. Trebonius. See Biographical Index.
- 3. aggerem, vineas, turresque. For siege operations see note on § iii. 75.
- 7. provincia: the old Roman Province of Gaul, now Provence. It was all Gaul between the Rhone and the Alps, with the coast of the Mediterranean besides as far as the Pyrenees.
 - 8. vimina materiamque: 'hurdles and tim! em'

14. cuspidibus praefixi: 'shod with lance-heads.' For prae in composition, see note on § ii. 191.

The Massilian artillery was so unusually powerful that it overpowered all the ordinary means of approach, and Trebonius had to make the roofs of his galleries of timber a foot thick (pedalibus lignis).

missi: 'shot from.'

- 15. in terra defigebantur: 'used to stick in the ground.'
- 16. The porticus mentioned must have been on the top of the mound they were building, and must have been pushed forward as the mound progressed. The word agger in this passage means 'the materials for the mound.'
 - 17. hac: understand via, as usual with such feminine ablatives.
- 20. Albicos: the mountaineers hired by the Massilians, § iii. 57, and used both on land and in their sea-fight with Dec. Brutus, § v. 5.
 - 22. ultro: lit. 'beyond what you would expect'; so 'even.'
 - 25. aeratae: probably 'with brazen beaks.'
- 29. post superius incommodum: 'the former disaster,' i.e. their naval defeat by Dec. Brutus related in Section v.
- 32. contexerant: 'had protected,' no doubt by raising and strengthening the sides. It does not seem to mean 'decked over,' judging by § viii. 165, where Antonius does it to a number of small craft.

remiges: the termination—ex, gen.—igis, is derived from ago.

- 34. Tauroenta: between Massilia and Telo Martius (Toulon).
- 39. accesserant: lit. 'had come to,' i.e. 'had been added to.' A common sense of accedo.
- 41. The order is: ut contemnerent (sos) victos, quos superavissent integros.
- 45-47. ut omnis juventus . . . adirent: 'how all the young men were going,' an indirect question.
 - 49. quin = qui (consecutive) non.
 - 51. ad virtutem: 'as far as courage went.'
- 52. ut nullum, etc.: 'as though they seemed likely to have no future opportunity.'
 - 53. et quibus: 'and (they fought) as men by whom,' etc.
 - 56. imprudentibus. Note on § iv. 116. impeditis. Note on § iv. 151.
 - 58. insigni: 'flag.'
 - 59. tantum ut: 'just so far that.'
- 66. nullo usui fuerunt. For usui esse, see note on § ii. 92. Nullo is an abl. of respect, 'were of use in no respect,' 'were no kind of good.'

- 69. desiderata est. Note on § iv. 124.
- 72. citeriorem Hispaniam. Note on § iv. 6.
- 76. eodem vestigio. Vestigium properly 'a footstep.' So this phrase almost exactly represents 'on the spot.'
- 79. The process employed was to advance a musculus, which was a narrow gallery, but in this instance very strong indeed, up to the wall, and then to remove some of the lower stones, so that the wall fell down. Meanwhile the defenders were kept off the walls by men stationed in a brick tower of six stories (apparently a new invention in this siege), so that their powerful artillery could not damage the musculus.
- 82. nostris: agent agreeing with militibus understood. Telis is instrument.
 - 85. turri: the tower in the defenders' wall.
 - 87. procumbebat: 'began to lean outwards.' Notice the tense.
- 88. de: 'concerning,' i.e. 'at the thought of the city being sacked.' The city was not taken yet.
- 89. infulis: 'bands' of white wool twined round with ribands. They were worn by priests at sacrifice, and are here worn by the Massilians to show that they are suppliants.
 - 90. legatos: Trebonius and the other commanders. Introd. p. ix. 13.
- 96. ut ab hominibus doctis: 'educated.' Massilia was a Greek city originally founded by the Phocaeans from Asia Minor, B.C. 600; and was in education far in advance of most Provincial towns. On this account especially (as we see below in line 103) Caesar respected them, and enjoined Trebonius to take the utmost precautions that the town was not sacked. Caesar had himself been equally careful in the case of Corfinium, which he would not enter in the evening, § ii. 112.
- 109. meridiano tempore. In hot climates people lie down after their midday meal for a few hours' rest (siesta) in the heat of the day. There are many instances in ancient history of the siesta being made use of for purposes of surprise. The Kadmeia at Thebes was thus surprised by the Spartans under Phaebidas, B.C. 382.
 - 112. prius . . . quam : one word.
 - 117. musculum turrimque latericiam. See note on line 79 above.
- 126. easdem conditiones: a tacit truce, as before, till Caesar's arrival, § vii. 98 onwards.
- 128. legem de dictatore, etc. The process was that the Senate had first to pass a decree that a dictator should be appointed; and then the consul, or (as the consuls were absent) in this instance the praetor named the man who should be dictator. The dictator then named his magister equitum. The last dictator had been Sulla, thirty-two years

- ago. Before him there had been none for one hundred and twenty years. Introd. p. xv. 47.
 - 133. ex diutina conclusione: 'from having been shut up so long.'
- 134. provinctarum atque exercituum: i.e. Spain and Pompeius' three armies under Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, which had been their only real hope of successful defence.
- 138. nactus turbidam tempestatem: 'taking advantage of wild weather.'
 - 141. ipsius: i.e. Domitii; Domitius' ship alone.
 - 142. contendit: 'held its course.'
- 147. pro nomine et vetustate: 'in consideration of their renown and antiquity.'

SECTION VIII.

We now reach Bel. Civ. Book iii., the great struggle between Caesar and Pompeius in person, in B.C. 48. It falls into three divisions—(1) the campaign round Dyrrhachium, ending in Caesar's defeat at Petra, Sections viii. and ix.; (2) the retreat from Petra and campaign in Thessaly, ending with the crowning victory of Pharsalia, Sections x. and xi.; (3) the flight of Pompeius and his death in Egypt, and the troubles at Alexandria on Caesar's arrival there, Section xii. The greater part of (3) is omitted in this abridgment.

- 2. is enim erat annus: explained in note on § iii. 32.
- 3. consulem: the full grammar is ei liceret (eum) consulem fieri. Consuli, dat. in apposition to ei would have been at least an equally common construction.

feriis Latinis: the great festival of the Latin nation, held in honour of Jupiter, on the Alban Mount, about 12 miles from Rome, ever since the time of Tarquinius Superbus. It was held every year, but not on any fixed date. The senate appointed on what day it should be held, and it was attended by the senate and all the magistrates of Rome; so Caesar had it held while he was at Rome.

- 8. tantum navium: 'such a quantity of ships,' i.e. so few ships.
- 10. Hoc unum, inopia navium, defuit: 'this one defect there was, namely a want of ships.' We should rather have expected copia navium, 'sufficient supply of ships was lacking.'
 - 11. hoc: abl. of cause, answered by quod.
 - 12. infrequentiores: 'in weaker numbers.'
 - 16. valetudine: abl. of respect, 'in point of health.'
- 17-41. This paragraph describing the muster of all the East is written in a much more oratorical style than Caesar's usual plain

matter-of-fact narrative. Notice especially the repetition of magnam in lines 18, 21, 23, and the high-sounding titles regilusque omnibus et dynastis et tetrarchis, as well as the general turn of the sentences.

21. For impero used personally in passive, see note on § i. 91.

regibus et dynastis et tetrarchis. It was a part of the Roman policy on the frontiers, and in less Romanised parts of the empire, especially in the East, to leave districts under kings or native rulers with various inferior titles, who were dependent upon Rome. The best known instance is Herod the Great, who was king of Judaea and the neighbouring districts; his sons Herod Antipas, Archelaus, Philip, etc., were only tetrarchs; but in the next generation Herod Agrippa was granted again the title of king after he had been a tetrarch for some years.

- 22. Itberis Achaiae populis. Athens and some other towns in the Roman Province of Achaia (which included all Greece up to the Pass of Thermopylae) had specially favourable conditions from Rome.
- 23. societates earum provinciarum: 'the companies of tax-contractors for those Provinces,' Introd. p. xvi. 87. Sibi numerare: Pompeius made them pay their contract-money to him instead of sending it to the Treasury at Rome, which was in Caesar's hands.
 - 24. obtinebat: for sense of obtineo, see note on § iii. 7.
- 29. Asia: not Asia Minor, but the Roman Province of Asia, which roughly corresponded with the three old divisions of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. See Map 2.
 - L. Lentulus was consul last year, B.C. 49.
 - 30. conscribendas curaverat. Note on § iii. 4.
- 31. Scipione: Metellus Scipio, Pompeius' father-in-law. See Biog. Index.

Sagittarios . . . **funditorum**. The light-armed troops were not Romans. Introd. p. xi. 66-82.

- 34. cohortes sexcenarias duas: 'two battalions of 600 apiece.' As 600 was the nominal strength of a cohort, the mention of the number here perhaps implies that these cohorts were up to their full strength, which was doubtless seldom the case. Sexcenarias: an adjective formed from the distributive numeral.
- 38. omni ora maritima. For the omission of the preposition, see note on § vi. 19.
- 40. Bibulus: Biog. Index. He had some cause to hate Caesar, whose colleague he had been as Aedile, Praetor, and Consul, in each of which offices Caesar had thrown him completely into the shade; and in his consulship, after vainly resisting Caesar's earlier measures in the usual way, he had shut himself up in his house for the

rest of the year, and contented himself with taking the omens periodically, and declaring Caesar's acts illegal on the ground of the auguries. So completely insignificant did Caesar make him that the Romans nicknamed that year (B.C. 59) 'the consulship of Julius and Caesar.'

- 41. summa imperii: lit. 'the total of the command,' 'the chief command'; summa a substantive.
- 42. ut: with perf. indic. 'when' in the sense of 'the moment that,' 'as soon as ever.'

contionatus. See note on § i. 94.

- 43. pridie Nonas Januarias: i.e. Jan. 4th B.C. 48. In reality, owing to the hopeless confusion of the Roman Calendar, this was probably some time in October or November B.C. 49, for in § viii. 90, we find that Pompeius was only on his way into winter quarters when Caesar crossed; and in § viii. 181, we find that when Caesar sent word to Antonius to bring over the rest of the army at all hazards 'many months had elapsed and winter had drawn towards its close.' Three years after this Caesar reformed the Calendar, and B.C. 45 (the so-called Annus Confusionis), wherein Caesar brought the real and Roman dates into agreement, contained 445 days, so that at that time the Roman year was 80 days ahead of the real solar year.
- 45. **Cerauniorum**: The dangerous and dreaded rocks of the promontory opposite the heel of Italy, called by Horace *Infames scopulos Acroceraunia*, 'the notorious rocks of the Ceraunian headland.'
- 52. sibi confisi: dat. here with confido because a person is referred to. See note on § ii. 12.
 - 54. constratae: 'decked,' called also tectae, § v. 3.
 - 55. impeditis: 'not ready for action.' See note on expedio, § iv. 151.
 - 56. prius . . . quam : one word.
 - 62. provectae: 'putting out to sea.'
- 63. nocturna aura. There was a land breeze usually blowing off that shore in the evening, but the ships started back too late and missed it.

 offenderunt: 'stumbled,' 'met with a disaster.'
- 67. **iracundiam erupit**: 'wreaked vengeance for,' lit. 'let his anger break forth for'; *erumpo*, properly an intransitive verb, here is used transitively.
- 69. terreri: territum iri would be more usual, verbs of hoping and promising generally are followed by a future infinitive.
- 70. Salonae on the borders of Liburnia and Dalmatia about opposite Ancona, Oricum near the Acroceraunian Promontory. Bibulus established the blockade over more than 300 miles of coast throughout the whole winter, and kept the sea so doggedly that he died of his exertions. It may well be doubted whether such a naval exploit as keeping

the sea throughout a whole winter off a rocky coast with supplies to be brought from a distance (as Caesar prevented their landing, § viii. 121-134) had ever been performed before. It must have been most terrible work in such cockle-shells as the ancient ships were, many of them not even decked.

74. complexum: 'embrace,' a most expressive word to show Bibulus' eagerness for a chance of closing with and hurting Caesar. Compare our expression 'bear's hug.'

81. The capture of Oricum and Apollonia was everything to Caesar, and it was only by his usual incredible speed that he secured them. The latter became his headquarters. It was the second largest town of the district, and the starting-point of one of the two branches of the great Via Egnatia (note on § ii. 151), and was one of the places in which Pompeius was intending to winter (line 91 below).

85. negare: historic infin.

consult. Notice the advantage to Caesar of being consul for this year.

88. **Epiros**: feminine, because a country. The Greek is $\dot{\eta} \, \tilde{\eta} \pi \epsilon \iota \rho o s \, \gamma \hat{\eta}$, 'the mainland.'

93. Dyrrhachio timens: 'fearing for Dyrrhachium.' Compare consulere alicui, 'to consult for somebody's interest.' Vibullius being sent by Caesar to negotiate, warned Pompeius that Dyrrhachium was in danger. See Biog. Index: Vibullius.

99. princeps: 'first,' adjective.

100. juratque, etc. Compare the similar oath which Petreius made his army swear after the two armies had fraternised, § vi. 195-200. Labienus was fond of such oaths. He afterwards swore, just before the battle of Pharsalia, not to return except victorious,—and did it, § xi. 77.

106. bene meritae civitates. The states south of the Apsus (see Map 5) were now with Caesar; and while waiting for the rest of his army his plan of campaign was simply to protect them and watch Pompeius. Pompeius' want of enterprise seems most remarkable. Caesar had only seven legions very much under strength, containing only 15,000 men with 500 horse, Pompeius had nine Roman legions, apparently of at least tolerable strength, say 45,000 men, with over 4000 light armed auxiliaries, and a splendid cavalry of 7000; yet he allowed Caesar to remain all the winter encamped opposite him with only a river between without attempting anything. Yet action before the arrival of Caesar's reinforcements was everything to him.

111. This took place immediately on the return of the transports which had carried Caesar over,

- 118. omnibus ad impuberes: 'all, even down to young boys.'
- 119. exiguo tempore magnoque casu: 'by a fraction of time and a mere accident,' i.e. by the arrival of Caesar's message at the moment they were leaving Brundisium, and before they had got too far out to be recalled.
 - 121. ad Orlcum. For preposition see note on § ii. 141.
- 122. slcut mari, etc.: i.e. Caesar could not get his reinforcements for Bibulus held the sea; Bibulus could not land for Caesar held the coast.
- 126. potestas flebat: passive of potestatem facio, 'opportunity was given.'
- 130. difficilioribus usi tempestatibus: 'encountering unusually bad weather.' The comparative expresses 'more than usual.'
 - 131. rorem. This was all they had to drink.
- 135. graviore: 'rather serious.' For this sense of the comparative see note on § vi. 163. This is a different use of the comparative from line 130 above.
- 136. curarl: 'to be attended to.' His illness was rather serious to start with, but he made it mortal by neglecting it.
- 138. neminem unum: 'on no one individual.' The fleet was broken up into squadrons under separate admirals.
 - 143. ab altera parte: on Pompeius' side.
- 147. Quorum mediam, etc. This was not a chance quarrel between the two parties, but an attack on Vatinius deliberately planned by Labienus. Labienus' bitterness against his old friend and commander exceeded that of all the Pompeians. Introd. p. xxiv. 198.
 - 149. ille: Vatinius.
 - 152. Libo. Biog. Index.
 - ab Orico. For preposition see note on § ii. 141.
- 154. praestare: 'that it was better.' Watching the harbour from which the Caesarians must start was a much easier method than blockading 300 miles of rocky coast to prevent their arrival.
 - 159. adeo profect ut: 'gained such advantage that.'
- 163. virtuti militum confisus: an apparent exception to the general rule for the constructions of confido, diffido, etc., given in note on § ii. 12; but not really an exception for 'the bravery of the soldiers' means the same as 'the brave soldiers.'
- 164. scaphas: a Greek word $\sigma \kappa a \phi \dot{\eta}$ (σκάπτω 'scoop out'); 'gigs,' the small boats attached to the war-ships.
- 165. pluteis contexit: 'protected with breastworks.' These are different *plutei* from those mentioned in note on § iii. 75, for approaching a town wall under cover. These had no roofs.

- 165. eo: 'thither,' into the boats.
- 167. faciendas curaverat. See note on § iii. 4.
- 168. remigum. For derivation see note on § vii. 32.
- 169-172. audacius . . . incautius. See note on § vi. 163.
- 172. sequebantur: imperfect, for they were abruptly stopped in the middle.
- 176. suls: referring to quadriremem, the object. Se and suus almost always refer to a subject; but if, as here, there is no subject to which they could reasonably refer they may be used of some other word which is not the subject.
 - 177. accessit. See note on § vii. 39.
- 178. aquari prohiberentur. This was what drove Libo off. There was no water on the island, and Antonius took care he should not land on the mainland to get it.
 - 181. Multi jam, etc. See note on § viii. 43.
- 184, 185. Quanto . . . tanto: 'in proportion as . . . so,' lit., 'by how much . . . by so much,' abl. of measure.
- ejus amplius . . . temporis: 'more of that season.' The blockading fleet would find it easier to keep the sea when winter was over; and the Caesarians would not have such strong winds to run before.
 - 185. qui classibus (Pompeii) praecrant.
- 187. castigabantur: a very strong word, lit. 'were whipped up.' Might be rendered 'were goaded,' or 'were kept up to the mark.'
- 190. lenioribus ventis: abl. of cause. The lighter winds would make crossing more difficult for the Caesarians. The Pompeians are the subject of expectabant.
 - 192. ne dimitterent : indirect command.
- 194. multum ipsis . . . recusantibus. For Caesar's enthusiasm for his men see note on § vi. 53.
- 196-205. We can fancy the tremendous excitement. The transports came in sight of Caesar at Apollonia, they then ran before the gale for eighty miles, along the whole coast occupied by Pompeius, closely pursued by a squadron which put out after them from Dyrrhachium. A lull in the wind, which would give ships of war adapted for rowing as well as sailing a great advantage over transports using sails alone, must have been fatal to Antonius' whole fleet, and to Caesar's hopes of success in the campaign.
 - 198. Dyrrhachii : locative case.
 - 199. remissiore vento: 'as the wind dropped,' abl. of cause.
 - 204. usi fortunae beneficio: 'though enjoying the kindness of

fortune,' 'though they had luck on their side,' i.e. in the strength of the wind which prevented the pursuers' oars being much good.

209. Africo: 'the south-west wind'; Austro: 'the south wind.' There seems to have been a headland running out south, or an island blocking the mouth of the harbour towards the west; and when fairly within this it would serve as a breakwater against a south-west wind.

213. sibi timuerant. Compare Dyrrhachio timens, § viii. 93.

215. suo: understand periculo.

216. tempore: 'the circumstances of the time,' 'the state of affairs.'

221. conventus: 'an assembly of Roman citizens' of the district of Lissus. Provinces were divided into conventus, 'assize-districts,' to which the governor went on circuit every year, and held his court at the chief town in the district. Both the 'assembly' and the 'district' were called conventus.

226. pontones. These ships were shortly after attacked and destroyed by Cn. Pompeius, the elder of Pompeius's sons, § ix. 20.

228. vacuam: 'defenceless.'

232. quid militum: 'what force of soldiers,' partitive gen.; exposuisset and transvexisset, indirect question depending on nuntios mittit, 'he sends messengers to say,' etc.

235. secundum: a preposition.

242. circuitu majore: abl. of cause.

243. adverso flumine: abl. absol., 'the stream being against him,' up the river.'

244. expedito: 'easy.' For expedio see note on § iv. 151.

248. quo=ut eo. See note on § i. 18.

ejus: i.e. Pompeii. Suus would have been more natural, as Pompeius is the subject of the sentence.

249. Graecos: the natives of the district.

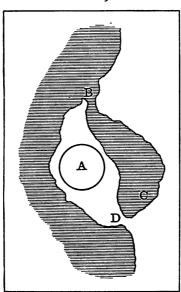
253. Asparagium: north of the Genusus on the road from Dyrrhachium to Apollonia, see Map 5. The two armies were there again later on, § x. 46, when Caesar played Pompeius a trick.

SECTION IX.

5. legatus: Introd. p. ix. 13.

The destruction of Caesar's fleets at Oricum and Lissus by Cn. Pompeius the younger is the one brilliant action of the Pompeian naval commanders.

5-18. This sketch, though it does not pretend to represent the locality, will explain the operations—



PLAN 9.

- A. The town of Oricum.
- B. The narrow entrance to the harbour, across which Acilius sunk a merchant ship, and armed and moored another near it. Pompeius hauled up the one and stormed and took the other.
- C. The inner part of the harbour, where the main body of Caesar' fleet was lying without the crews. Pompeius captured four of these and burnt the rest.
- D. The isthmus across which Pompeius conveyed his ships on rollers.

These operations were covered by a simultaneous attack on the town made merely as a feint.

- 5. in interiorem partem: at C.
- 7. faucibusque portus : at B.
- 8. Cn. Pompeius filius : Biographical Index.
- 9. ad Oricum. For preposition see note on § ii. 141.
- 10. remulcum (ἡυμουλκέω, 'to haul'): either (1) 'a tow-rope,' or (2) 'a windlass.' The word, like σκυτάλη in line 15 below, is merely a Greek word used in Latin.
 - 13. ex altera parte: 'on the other side' of the town.

molem naturalem: at D.

tenuit: in its nautical sense of 'put to shore at.'

- 15. subjectis scutulis (σκυτάλη): 'putting rollers under.'
- 16. ex utraque parte: 'from both directions,' for the rest of Pompeius' fleet, after the obstruction in the mouth of the harbour was removed, sailed in and joined in the assault.
- 21. naves onerarias triginta: the pontones left there by Antonius, § viii. 226.
 - 25. ad Asparagium. See note on § ii. 141.
 - 26. eodem: adverb.
- 38. diverso ab ea regione itinere. This was precisely the same trick by which he had cut Afranius and Petreius off from the Iberus, § vi. 99. Pompeius being between him and Dyrrhachium, he started in the opposite direction, but after getting out of Pompeius' sight, bore round to the left, and when Pompeius discovered his object next day he was near enough to race him for Dyrrhachium, and just won the race. As Afranius was now with Pompeius he might have suspected it.
 - 42. Quod: acc. subject to fore.
- 48. edito loco. 'Place' in Latin Prose generally requires a preposition unless it is the name of a town. *Loco* is a common exception to this rule.
- 51. comportari: the infinitive after impero instead of ut is very unusual. It occurs also § vi. 23, pontem imperant fieri.
- 52. bellum ductum iri. Ducere or producere bellum is the regular phrase for 'to prolong the war.'
- 52-53. existimans, desperans. The rule that the present participle in Latin cannot be rendered by 'since' in English does not at all hold good in Caesar in the case of verbs of thinking.
- 57. We now come to Caesar's audacious experiment, the investment of a force more than double the size of his own, and resting on the sea, of which it had complete command, for its supplies. It was a great military mistake. Pompeius could have broken the blockade at any moment he chose, either by concentrating his forces against one point in Caesar's vast lines, seventeen miles long, or by landing troops out-

side. He preferred to remain inside, no doubt in the hope that when he had sufficiently disciplined his troops an opportunity would present itself of inflicting a crushing disaster on Caesar, who certainly got off very cheaply with the defeat he did sustain.

MAP 6. DYRRHACHIUM G

AAA Caesar's Lines (17 miles circumference).

Caesar's outer Lines.

CCC Pompeius's Lines (15 miles circumference).

Pompeius's attack by sea and land. Ē Old fort where Caesar was defeated again later in the day.

River Palamnus.

Caesar's line of retreat to Apollonia.

Ĝ Caesar's transversum vallum (unfinished).

60. Caesar's objects were (1) to bring up his own supplies easier than he could if Pompeius's splendid cavalry were at large; (2) to make foraging more difficult for Pompeius; (3) to diminish Pompeius's reputation as a general if he allowed himself to be blockaded by an inferior force.

61. quo: for ut, note on § i. 18. Quo does not agree with minore periculo.

- 64. auctoritatem: 'weight,' 'reputation.' If any foreigner had been asked who was the greatest general of the day, he would undoubtedly have named Pompeius; and so would most Romans. More especially was this the case in the East, where Pompeius had added many Provinces to the Empire, notably Pontus and Syria.
 - 65. niti: 'rest,' 'rely.'
- 76. Castellis quatuor et viginti. Only a few of these forts are shown in Map 6, which is only meant to illustrate the situation without professing to be exact in every particular.
- 77. hoc spatio pabulabatur. There would be a good deal of food for his beasts within the fifteen miles circle, though it did not last out the whole time.
 - 78. manu sata: 'things sown by hand,' 'crops.'
 - 79. perpetuas: 'continuous.'
 - 80, 82. quo: quis and qui are used for 'any' after num, ne, and si.
 - 83. operibus vincebant : i.e. finished quicker.
 - 84. interiore spatio: abl. of cause.
- 85. praesidiis: 'posts to garrison.' For occupo and obtineo, see note on § iii. 7.
- 89. nova et inusitata belli ratio: besides being novel it was also bad strategy. Like the Balaclava charge, C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.
- 94. aliqua ex parte: 'from some direction or other.' As they had entire possession of the sea, no wind could blow amiss for them.
- 95. This paragraph is another instance of Caesar's admiration for his soldiers' courage. See note on § vi. 53. The sufferings here described do not seem very terrible to us: they had plenty of meat, barley and vegetables, and of everything but wheat, but that happened to be the one thing a Roman could not get on without. Note on § iv. 128.
- 101. magno in honore habebant: 'considered very valuable,' 'held in high honour.' They would have liked corn better; but as they could not get that, they considered meat their best food.
 - 103. chara. It is unknown what plant this is.
- 106. objectarent; 'kept casting in our men's teeth,' 'taunting us with.' Frequentative verb of *objicio*, which is used in this same sense, § xi. 211.
 - III. victures : from vivo.
- 112. (1) Scarcity of forage, (2) scarcity of water (which Caesar had diverted), (3) bad health from the confined space, were the things the Pompeians were suffering from. These seem to us worse than the scarcity of corn, from which the Caesarians suffered.
 - 113. tolerari: 'were kept alive.'

- 119. aberant longius. Water could not be found everywhere, so many had to go long distances for it.
 - 123. quibus: the antecedent is milites, implied in Caesaris exercitus.
- 131. ut alio loco, etc. These fires can only have been for cooking. If meant for warmth at night, the remedy, though doubtless ingenious, would hardly have been useful.
- 132. There is a gap in the manuscripts of Caesar here. The piece lost seems to have described a sally of the Pompeians, in which they attacked Caesar's lines in several places. The fighting seems to have been specially severe around one particular fort mentioned here, though in what part of the lines it was we do not know.
- 135. ad duorum, etc.: 'about two thousand,' lit. 'up to 2000 in number.' There is no accusative depending on ad here, nor is there any accusative subject to cecidisse. The whole phrase ad... Pompeianis is the subject to cecidisse; and the strict grammatical construction would have been milites ex Pompeianis ad numerum duorum millium cecidisse.
 - 136. evocatos centurionesque: Introd. pp. xii. 120; ix. 16.
 - 137. signa militaria: Introd. p. ix. 21.
- 138. castello: the one principally attacked; as mentioned in note on line 132 above.
 - 139. Caesar's enthusiasm for his soldiers, see note on vi. 53. quin = qui non.
 - 143. renumeraverunt: 'they counted over.'
- 146. millibus ducentis aeris: aeris in coinage = assium. An as was dof a sestertius, i.e. dd. (see note on § iv. 126); so this sum would be about £417. But the manuscript reading is very doubtful. The word aeris is in brackets because it is not in the original text.
- ab octavis ordinibus ad primipilum. See Introd. p. x. 31-65. 149. duplici only belongs to *stipendio*, not to the other words. Their pay was doubled and other presents were given them.

militaria dona: such as bracelets, etc., decorations worn by Roman soldiers, and corresponding to our medals, V. C., and the like.

- 154. ut famam, etc. For the sake of appearances he did not refuse battle, but kept his army so close under the camp that it would be ruinous for Caesar to attack them.
 - 164. optima fortissimaque: abl. agreeing with opera. erat usus: 'had found.'
- 167. stipendiumque, etc.: 'embezzled the cavalry pay.' They held commands in the cavalry, and the pay passed through their hands. The charges specially made against them were (1) that they made a false return of the numbers under their command, so as to draw pay

for more men than they had; (2) that they kept the prize-money for themselves instead of distributing it fairly.

- 170. rem totam distulit: 'put off,' 'poohpoohed the whole affair,' which he nevertheless believed.
- 171. quod with subjunctive here, implied Oratio Obliqua, 'because, said he, they made the cavalry a source of profit.'
- 182. rei militaris: gen. after transitive adjective peritioribus, which implies skill (§ ii. 74).
 - 185. levis armaturae et sagittariorum : Introd. p. xi. 78.
 - 186. scaphas. See note on § viii. 164. naves actuarias. See note on § ii. 199.
 - 187. cohortes: Introd. p. ix. 6.
- 188. longissimeque, etc. Caesar's chief camp was near the northern end of his lines. Pompeius attacked the southern end.
- 192. quaestorem: Introd. p. xiv. 18. The quaestor was often given a military command by the general to whom he was attached.
- 193. legione nona. Caesar tells us, § xi. 97, that in battle order he always placed the 10th legion (his favourite, with which he generally stood) on the right, and the 9th on the left. Probably in the lines round Petra he kept the same arrangement, as we find the 9th on the extreme left, and Caesar himself on the right. The post on the left was commanded by Marcellinus, that next him by Antonius.

fossa pedum quindecim: in width, not depth.

- 195. sexcentorum. There were two parallel fortifications, one facing inwards, one outwards, 200 yards apart. They were to have been joined at the sea end by a cross fortification (transversum vallum) (marked H in Map 6), but this was not yet finished (line 202).
 - 197. ne . . . circumvenirentur : a clause in apposition to hoc.
 - 208. interioris munitionis: towards Petra.
 - 209. scalis admotis: 'when the enemy planted their ladders.'
- 212. viminea tegimenta galeis imposita. Pompeius had made his men put a kind of wicker hat over their helmets with a wide rim, which must have been an excellent defence against stones as they climbed up the ladders.
- 217. aversos: 'turned away from them,' i.e. 'in rear,' opposite to adversus, 'in front.' As Caesar's men were defending both the inner and outer lines, the Pompeians, who were landed between the lines, took the defenders of both in rear.
 - 221. laborantibus: 'in distress,' 'hard pressed.'
- 224. aquilifer: of the 9th legion. Introd. p. ix. 18. Another anecdote of the valour and devotion of his men. Note on § vi. 53.

- a viribus deficeretur: 'was failing (lit. was being deserted) in respect of his strength,' not 'by his strength,' which would have been viribus without the a.
- 227. committere, etc.: 'to act so that a disgrace in the field should be incurred.'
- 229. Hoc casu: by the accident of his giving the eagle to the cavalry instead of a centurion of his own battalion.
- 230. primae cohortis: the aquilifer and his eagle were in charge of the primipilus.
- 231. **interfectis**: 'although all... were killed.' What a slaughter! Nine centurions out of the ten in this battalion killed!

principem priorem: seems from his name to have been one of the senior centurions of the principes. Introd. p. x. 57.

- 232. For the arrangement of Caesar's forces, see note on line 193 above.
 - 237. se colligerent: 'rally,' as in § ii. 46.
- 238. significatione, etc.: 'by a smoke signal passed from fort to fort.'
- 242. propositum: either (1) nominative, tenuerat being intransitive, 'as his purpose had not succeeded'; or (2) accusative, governed by tenuerat, transitive, of which the subject is Caesar.
- 243. Caesar transferred his camp from the northern to the southern end of the lines.
- 245. **instar** is really an indeclinable subst., therefore followed by the genitive. The battalions were taken from different legions, but the whole was arranged so as to look like a legion.
 - 246. vetera castra: an old disused camp, marked E on Map 6.
- 249. munitio ad flumen, etc. Marked on Map 6 by a line running from E to the river.
 - 252. passus quingentos: half a mile.

sperans, cupiens. See note on § ix. 52.

- 254. speciem munitionis, etc.: 'to keep up the appearance of working at the fortifications.'
- 257. multis amissis centurionibus: nine out of the ten belonging to its first battalion alone, to say nothing of the rest (line 231 above).
- 259. duplict acte: a variation of the usual Roman order of battle, which was generally in three lines. At Pharsalia Caesar had a *fourth* line on special duty, § xi. 109.
- 263. ericio: lit. 'hedgehog'; hence an obstacle bristling with spikes or other wounding implements set in a breach or gateway, 'chevaux de frise.' There is no English word.
 - 264. castellum: called in line 247 minora castra.

- 267. cum . . . tum : 'both . . . and.'
- 271. cohortes ignorantia loci, etc. He should not blame fortune for this. The fault was that out of eagerness to make up for the morning's disaster, he attacked a fortified post that he had not reconnoitred, with an army specially liable to panic from its previous defeat that day.
 - 273. conjunctam esse flumini: clause in apposition to quod.
 - 274. nullo: for abl. of nemo, which is very rarely used.
- 276. hac satis longa mora: i.e. the time while Caesar's men were losing their way and finding out their mistake.
 - 279. a nostris belongs to cernebatur, not to instructa.
- 282. ab decumana porta. The main gate of the camp, situated in its rear, was so called. The Pompeians had been driven by Caesar's left wing right back through the minora castra, but clung to the defences in its rear till Pompeius's reinforcements forced their assailants to fly.
- 284. quod angusto itinere per aggeres ascendebat: 'because it was making its way up across the rampart by a narrow breach.' This was the rampart that led to the river. The cavalry would not want to penetrate *into* the camp.

receptui suo timens. Note on § viii. 93.

- 288. ne in angustias inciderent: 'for fear they should meet a crush at the breaches.' angustiae: are the narrow 'breaches' in the fortifications, through which they had made their way in.
- 291. Sinistro cornu: probably looked on as an abl. of quality, and therefore the preposition is omitted.
 - 293. receptui sibi consulebant. See note on § viii. 93.
- 296. signa dimitterent: 'dropped the colours.' This was punishable with death. Caesar only degraded them. § x. 16.

neque quisquam: equivalent to et nemo, which is never used.

His tantis... quod Pompeius, etc.: 'this relief came to the aid of our great misfortunes to prevent the whole army being destroyed, namely, that Pompeius, etc.,' i.e. the only thing that prevented the whole army being annihilated was that Pompeius, etc.

- 297. succurro stands here for a verb of hindering; verbs of hindering may always be followed by quominus.
- 300. Duobus proeliis: (1) lines 184-243, Pompeius' attack on the unfinished part of the fortifications at H., where Marcellinus and the 9th legion were defeated early in the morning. (2) lines 244-299, the disastrous repulse on the old camp at E, under Caesar himself, in the afternoon.
 - 301. nongentos et sexaginta. This is the heaviest loss Caesar ever

sustained in any battle at which he commanded in person, and it was due to over-audacious tactics. For tribuni militum and centurions see Introd. p. ix. 15.

- 304. signa militaria: Introd. p. ix. 21.
- 305. imperator est appellatus: imperator was a title of honour, implying no office, by which his soldiers hailed a victorious general on the field of battle. This title might be therefore given to him afresh in every war wherein he commanded. Pompeius had often been so hailed, the first time by Sulla himself in his war against the Marian party, B.C. 83, when Pompeius was only twenty-three. Afterwards it became the title of the emperors, Caesar being the first who adopted it in this sense. It then meant commander-in-chief of the Roman army.
 - 306. obtinuit. For meaning see note on § iii. 7.
- 307. in literis... scribere, ... in fascibus insignia laureae. These distinctions, though usual for an imperator, were not adopted by Pompeius, because he did not think it right to claim them for a Civil war.
- 310. commilitones. Many of these prisoners must have served with Labienus when Caesar's legatus in Gaul. For Labienus's hostility to Caesar, see note on § viii. 147, and Introd. p. xxiv. 198.
 - 317. causae : dative.

proinde ac si: 'just as if.'

This victory was Pompeius' ruin. He had had a hard task to keep in hand his camp—full of conceited senators and grandees, who all thought themselves great generals; but after this they were too strong for him, and forced him to give battle at Pharsalia against his better judgment.

SECTION X.

- 3. praesidiis omnibus deductis: i.e. from all the forts round Petra.
- 4. contionem. See note on § i. 94.
- 6. graviter ferrent: 'take ill,' 'take to heart.'
- 7. et id mediocre. The disaster might well have been greater, it is true; but still he lost nearly 1000 men.
- 9. sine aliquo vulnere: 'without some disaster or other'; not 'any' disaster, as that would require ullo. Compare § i. 24.

duas Hispanias: Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, which were divided by the Iberus.

II. oppletis: 'manned against them.'

- 14. cujusvis potius quam suae culpae: 'to any thing's fault rather than their own.'
- 16. signiferos, etc.: no doubt he degraded those who dropped their colours when he tried to rally them, § ix. 295, a crime usually punished with death.
- 18. nemo aut tribuni, etc.: 'no one needed any orders from their colonel or centurion,' i.e. they were so eager of themselves. Introd. p. ix. 15.
 - 24. rei frumentariae timebat. For dative see note on § viii. 93.
- 25-34. They marched off towards Apollonia in three divisions—(1) as soon as it was dark all the baggage, with one brigade as escort, started with orders not to halt till the day's march, which he fixed for them, was completed (*iter* cannot mean the whole distance to Apollonia as line 60 shows); (2) in the last night-watch, probably about 2 A.M., the rest of the army started in light marching order. These first two divisions moved off without noise; (3) Caesar with the rearguard of two legions started soon after, with the usual sounds and calls for striking a camp, for which see note on § vi. 86.
- 30. de quarta vigilia. There were four watches between sunset and sunrise, and as this was probably June, when night lasts from about eight till four in those latitudes, the fourth watch would be about 2 to 4 A.M.
 - 32. ejus: i.e. Caesar's; sua would have been more usual.
 - 33. conclamari: understand vasa.
 - 38. expedito: as all the baggage had gone on before.
 - 39. Genusum. Map 5.

ripis impeditis: abl. of quality. For impeditis see note on § iv. 151.

41. expeditosque antesignanos admiscuit. This plan of mixing up some of his most active infantry with his cavalry, and training them to fight among them Caesar had learnt from the Germans. Hitherto he had rendered useless Pompeius' splendid cavalry (which was seven to one as compared with his own) by blockading Pompeius. He henceforth neutralised it by the device here adopted; and finally by an extension of the same plan won the victory of Pharsalia. For antesignani see note on § iv. 63.

46. justo: 'regular,' 'ordinary.' They would halt and encamp about the heat of the day. On this occasion he did the usual thing, so as to create no suspicion; and then having taken the enemy in he started off again and gained another eight miles on them.

- 47. traductoque, etc. For construction, see note, § iv. 145.
- 50. decumana porta: this was the main gate of the camp, and was



on the side furthest from the enemy. Caesar's orders were that the cavalry should go out of camp as usual to forage when the morning's march was over, in order to avoid raising the enemy's suspicion; but instead of really foraging they were to come in again at once on the side concealed from the enemy. As soon as they had done this, and had taken the Pompeians in, the army started again, and the enemy could not follow, as they had dispersed.

- 53. integris munitionibus: 'as the fortifications were still standing,' so that they had not as usual to entrench.
- 54. contubernio: the 'military tent' wherein ten men, with an under-officer, slept.
- 55. quod fore providerat: Pompeius had broken up his camp at Asparagium in haste, to try and prevent Caesar cutting him off from Dyrrhachium, § ix. 25-42. His men, therefore, had left many things behind, which they now went to try and recover. Others would be taking the midday siesta. Note on § vii. 109.
- 56. Afranius and Petreius the year before had attempted exactly the same trick of starting when Caesar's men had dispersed at midday, to try to get back to Ilerda, but unsuccessfully, § vi. 233.
 - 57. octo millia passuum. For the Roman pace, see note on § iv. 58.
 - 58. discessu: abl. of cause.
 - 60. similiter. For the order of march, see note on line 25 above.
- 63. altissimis fluminibus, etc.: abl. absol. 'though the rivers were very deep,' etc.
 - 65. cum: 'although.'
 - 71. properanti: 'for a man in a hurry.'
- 72. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's general, was in Macedonia, engaged in preventing Metellus Scipio, with two legions from Syria and Cilicia, from effecting a junction with Pompeius. Now that Caesar had been forced to retreat from Dyrrhachium, Domitius Calvinus was in imminent danger of being caught between Pompeius and Metellus Scipio. This Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's able legatus, must not be confused with L. Domitius, Caesar's deadly enemy, who had held Corfinium first and then Massilia against him, and was afterwards killed at Pharsalia.
- 73. Totius autem rei, etc.: 'he worked out his plan for the whole campaign with a view to the following objects.'
- 77, 79, 81. cogeret, proficisceretur, cogeret dependent on ut (of purpose) in line 74.
- 85. Athamaniam: lying just west of the Pindus range, which forms the western boundary of Thessaly.
 - 87. conjectura: abl. of substantive.

- 89. illo: adverb.
- 93. Apollonia: nominative; i.e. the necessity of going to Apollonia prevented his marching the nearest way to Domitius Calvinus in Macedonia.
 - 94. expeditum. Note on § iv. 151.
 - 95. Accessit. Note on § vii. 39.
- 98. subjecta: 'close to the borders of,' lit. 'lying under.' On sub when compounded, see note on § xi. 231.

ut: of consequence.

- 101. Raucilli atque Egi: the deserters, § ix. 161-183.
- 103. consuetudine: 'acquaintance.'
- 104. una: adverb.

gloria: 'boastfulness.'

108. ad Aeginium. For preposition, see note on § ii. 141.

objectum oppositumque: 'lying on the way to and before.' Calvinus guessed that Caesar would make for Thessaly, and at once retreated southward to meet him on the way thither.

112. ultro. See note on § vii. 22.

praesidium petierat. This treachery on the part of Gomphi aggravated its offence. This is the one solitary instance recorded in the Civil War of Caesar's allowing a town to be sacked, though he had taken a very large number. The Pompeians, judging by their threats, would not have been so merciful.

114. auxerat : 'exaggerated.'

multis partibus: abl. of measure.

- 115. praecludit. For prae in composition, see note on § ii. 191.
- 124. post horam nonam: 3 P.M., or an hour or two later, as it was midsummer.
 - 126. ad diripiendum. See note on line 112 above.
 - 130. producendos curaverat. For construction see note on § iii. 4.
- 131. collata: 'compared with'; a different sense from what the word had in line 97 above.
 - 131, 132. fortuna . . . casu: 'good fortune . . . bad fortune.'
- 133. Larissaeos: Larissa on the Peneus, the principal town of Thessaly, now became Pompeius' headquarters.
- 137. eo omnem belli rationem conferre: 'to transfer the whole campaign (lit. plan of the war) thither.'

SECTION XI.

- 2. cunctum; (contracted for conjunctum): Scipio's army as well as his own. He invites Scipio's men to be partners in the spoils of the victory his own soldiers gained at Dyrrhachium. He looks on the war as over; only the division of booty as remaining. Pompeius may have made use of some exaggerated expressions of confidence to encourage his men, but we learn from other authors that he was really very uneasy owing to the insubordination and jealousy of his grandees.
- 3. parta: pario or reporto victoriam is the usual phrase for 'to win a victory.'
 - 5. una castra. Note on § vi. 175.
- 6. classicum apud eum cani: 'the bugle to be sounded at his quarters,' as well as at his own, acknowledging Metellus Scipio's equality in command with himself.
 - 7. praetorium: 'general's tent.' See note on § vi. 183.
- 8. sacerdotiis: the priesthoods and other offices held by Caesarians, which would be confiscated after the expected victory. Caesar himself was Pontifex Maximus, and three of the nobles, as we see in the next line, were quarrelling for the office.
- 11. Domitius: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, not the Cn. Domitius of whom we heard so much in Section x. See Biographical Index, and note on § x. 72.

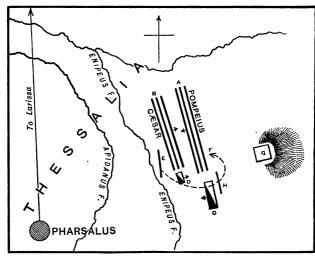
Lentulus Spinther captured and released along with L. Domitius, by Caesar, at Corfinium, \S ii. 126.

- 14. honoribus: 'magistracies,' 'offices,' not 'honours,' in the common modern sense, which is a very much rarer meaning of the Latin word.
 - 15. agebant: 'were busying themselves.'
- 23. confirmatiorem: a comparative of a participle; not at all uncommon.
- 24. Superius institutum in equitibus: 'his former custom in the matter of cavalry.' See note on § x. 41. He was so well satisfied apparently with the result of this experiment on the retreat from Petra that he adopted it as part of his regular tactics. For the comparative use made by the Caesarians and the Pompeians of their cavalry, see note on § vi. 2. It is really wonderful what a poor use Pompeius seems to have made of his vast superiority in cavalry, who were of the most excellent kind.
 - 26. ex antesignanis. See note on § iv. 63.
 - 27. ad pernicitatem: 'with a view to speed.'

- 28. qui: expressing purpose.
- 30. equitum mille. Mille here is followed by a partitive genitive as if it were a substantive. Usually mille is an indeclinable adjective, So mille milites, but duo millia militum. millia a substantive.

apertioribus: 'fairly open.' Note on § vi. 163.

MAP 7.



- A. Pompeius's Infantry, 47,000.
- B. Caesar's Infantry, 22,000. C. Pompeius's Cavalry, 7,000. D. Caesar's Cavalry, 1,000.

- E. Caesar's Fourth line in reserve.
- F. Attack of his 4th line, routs cavalry and light armed, and takes P.'s left wing in rear.
- G. Pompeius's Camp. H. Pompeius's Light-armed.
- 31. usus: 'experience,' 'practice.'
- 34. ex duobus, etc. : viz. either Raucillus or Egus, § ix. 162.
- 37. spectans si, etc.: 'looking for an opportunity in case Caesar should, etc. Si, 'if,' 'in case,' conditional; not 'whether,' which would have been utrum.
 - 38. For sense of subjiceret, see note on § xi. 231.
 - 39. existimans. For use of present participle, see note on § ix. 52.
 - 50. expeditas: Introd. p. xiii. 126.
- 51. suorum omnium hortatu: against his better judgment. note on § ix. 317.

- 53. priusquam concurrerent acies: i.e. the infantry would not have to strike a blow.
 - 54. fore ut . . . pelleretur. For construction see note on § ii. 174.
- 57. quo=ut (of purpose) eo (abl. of measure), not agreeing with firmiore animo. On quo for ut, see note on § i. 18.

Persuasi equitibus nostris. Very sarcastic, as if all that had to be done was to persuade his own cavalry to undertake the task.

- 59. These tactics were excellent, and the open ground of Thessaly most favourable for them; but Caesar met them by a stroke of genius, using in this battle the very unusual formation of a fourth line specially held in reserve against the enemy's overwhelming cavalry.
- 60. ab latere aperto, . . . ab tergo. For ab in phrases of direction, see note on § iv. 38.
 - 61. prius . . . quam : one word.
 - 65. excepit: 'followed,' 'spoke next to.'
 - 68. Germania. See note on § i. 103.
- 71. autumni pestilentia: at the end of B.C. 49, just before Caesar crossed to Greece, § viii. 14.
- 72. in continenti: lit. 'on the mainland,' meaning in Italy. Not that they were now on an island, but they were across the sea.
 - 74. citeriore Gallia: Cisalpine Gaul.
 - 75. ex coloniis Transpadanis: of whom Caesar was the patron.
- 77. juravit, etc. Such oaths are made to be broken. General Ducrot swore the same oath before he sallied out of Paris in the last Franco-German war to lose the battle of Champigny, Nov. 30-Dec. 2, 1870.
 - 83. sinistro cornu: the flank furthest from the river. See Map 7.

legiones duae, traditae, etc. Introd. p. xxiii. 163. They had been called the 1st and 15th when they belonged to Caesar, § i. 28 and 32.

- 90. One hundred and ten Cohorts, had their numbers been full, would have meant 66,000 men. (Introd. p. ix. 6.) We shall often find the regiments much emptier than this, however, e.g. § xii. 56, where Caesar takes with him two legions, containing altogether 3200 men. The proper strength of one legion was 6000.
- 91. evocatorum: Introd. p. xii. 120. He dispersed these among his troops to set an example of steadiness.
- 94.-impeditis ripis: abl. of quality. For impeditus see note on § iv. 151. The river was a tributary of the Enipeus. See Map 7.
- 97. Caesar always placed his favourite 10th legion (with which he himself stood) on the right, the 9th on the left. Though the 9th had been badly cut up at Petra, he still placed it in its usual position.

- 101. Cohortes octoginta: much under strength, like Pompeius's. Their proper numbers would have been 48,000.
- 105. contra Pompeium: i.e. with the 10th on the right. Pompeius was on the left. This was the critical flank, the other being protected by the river.
 - 109. quartam instituit. See notes on § xi. 59 and 159.
- 113. vexillo: with the red flag. With this he would give the signal to the separate divisions, while the bugle, as we see in the next line, gave the general signal for the commencement of the battle.
- 115. Crastinus: another of Caesar's stories of the personal courage of his soldiers. See note on § vi. 53. This story is concluded in § xi. 246.
- 115-116. evocatus; qui... primum pilum duxerat: Introd. p. x. 31, ix. 64. Although Crastinus had been a primipilus, yet now that he was an evocatus he appears to have been serving in the ranks.
- 118. manipulares: 'soldiers of the same maniple.' Introd. p.
- 119. quam constituistis (dare): 'which you have always determined to give him.'
- 125. centuriae, used loosely for manipuli. There were only 100 men in a century.
 - 129. neve = et ne (a negative indirect command).
- 130. aciem distrahi: 'his line to disorder itself,' 'get into disorder,' a middle sense.
- 131. C. Triarii. The advantages which the Pompeians expected to gain were (1) that there would be gaps and disorder in Caesar's line after its long double; (2) that the Caesarians would be out of breath and weak, while they themselves would be fresh. The double which the Caesarians would have to make would be twice as long as they expected, since the enemy were not doubling to meet them.
- 135-142. It is interesting to compare with these remarks of Caesar about cheering during a charge the following passage from Lord Wolseley (Soldier's Pocket Book, p. 380):—'A ringing cheer is inseparable from charging. I do not believe it possible to get a line in action to charge in silence,—and, were it possible, the general who would deprive himself of the moral assistance it gives the assailants must be ignorant of human nature. It encourages, lends nerve and confidence to an assailant: its very clamour makes men feel their strength as they realise the numbers that are charging with them. Nothing serves more to strike terror into a force that is charged than a loud ringing cheer, bespeaking confidence.'

143. infestis: 'levelled.'



- 145. sua sponte cursum, etc. That such fiery troops in the full excitement of closing with an enemy whom they had been longing to fight for months should voluntarily halt to recover breath in mid career is one of the most wonderful efforts of discipline in history. One would suppose it could not have failed to lead to disorder, some battalions going on while others halted.
 - 150. huic rei: 'the business in hand.'
 - 151. exceperunt: 'awaited,' 'stood up to.'
- 153. redierunt: re- in composition often implies 'in the proper way.' So 'fell back in due course upon.'
- 157. aciemque nostram, etc. This outflanking movement by his cavalry was what Pompeius relied on for victory. § xi. 57.
- 158. aperto: 'exposed,' both because it was not protected by the river like his left flank, and because the cavalry who guarded it were repulsed.
- 159. quartae aciel: his special reserve, marked E on map. See note on § xi. 59. It was no doubt the complete surprise of finding a fourth line awaiting them just when they thought their work was done that caused the hopeless rout of the Pompeian cavalry. They were not at all prepared for this most unusual formation.
 - 177. ut ipse, etc. : § xi. 110.
 - 181. ut (with perf. indic.): 'the moment that.' Note on § viii. 42.
- 185. practoriam portam: the front gate of the camp, nearest the enemy.
- 188. praetorium: the general's tent.' See note on § vi. 183. When his cavalry were routed, he knew his defeat was certain. On his infantry he placed little reliance against such disciplined troops as Caesar's.
- 193. magno aestu. According to the Roman Calendar it was 9th August, in reality probably some time in June. See note on § viii. 43.
- 194. ad omnem laborem animo parati. He praises his men as usual—Note on § vi. 53. For the extraordinary amount of work Caesar got out of his soldiers this day, see note on line 232 below.
 - 198. acie: ex acie would be more usual.
 - 206. argenti: 'silver plate.'
 - 207. quae with subjunctive: 'of such a kind as to show.'
- 211. objictebant: 'used to cast in their teeth,' 'used to taunt with.' Caesar's men were accused of luxury because Caesar was lax in minor points of discipline, and liked to see his men enjoy themselves. He used to say that 'his men, perfumed though they were, knew how to fight.'
- 214. decumana porta: 'the main gate' was on the side of the camp furthest from the enemy.

- 215. Larissam. Note on § x. 133.
- 218. ad mare: at the mouth of the Peneus. See his route on Map 2.
- 220. Caesar's extraordinary influence over his men is seldom better shown than in this instance. They had had a very hard campaign and much suffering from want, and they had just, after a severe battle, taken a camp full of luxury, and well supplied with everything. Yet they unhesitatingly leave it to complete the annihilation of the army by a very hard afternoon's work. For this day's work see note on line 232 below.
- 223. ei loco. The abl. would be rather more usual. See note on § ii. 12.
- 224. jugis ejus: 'along its ridge,' abl. answering the question 'by what road.'

Larissam versus: versus, when a preposition, always follows its case.

- 231. subluebat: 'washed the foot of,' 'flowed close beneath.' Some of the principal meanings of sub- when compounded are (1) (in the sense of motion with accusative) 'to below'—§ xi. 38; iniquis locis se subjicere, 'to put himself below an unfavourable position,' the enemy being on the higher ground: (2) (in the sense of sub with accusative in such phrases as sub noctem, 'at the approach of night') 'close upon,' 'at the point of'—§ xi. 233; nox jam suberat, 'night was now at hand'—§ x. 98; subjecta Candaviae, 'close to Candavia': (3) (in the sense of sub with the ablative) 'at the foot,' as subluebat here; subsequi, 'to follow close on the heels of': (4) 'from below,' i.e. upwards, as suspicio, 'to look up'; suscipio, 'to take up.'
- 232. totius diet continenti labore: 'the whole day's continuous toil.' It was indeed a day's work. They were just starting for a march in the morning, line 42, when they saw there was a chance of fighting; then followed, line 143, the battle of Pharsalia; then the storming of Pompeius's camp, line 190; then leaving the rich camp almost untouched, they begin lines of circumvallation in the afternoon round the mountain where most of the fugitives had taken refuge, line 222; then when they fled thence, Caesar, with four legions, marched six miles more, line 227, intercepted the fugitives, and finished the day by digging lines which cut the Pompeians off from water. This forced them to surrender next morning, and Pompeius's fine army was absolutely annihilated. From § viii. 17-31, there seem probably to have been eleven legions present on Pompeius's side, and in line 257 below we learn that nine eagles were captured, leaving only two unaccounted for.

233. suberat. See note on line 231 above.

- 240. flentes: on the Roman's proneness to tears see note on § vi. 192.
- 244. amplius ducentos milites: after amplius, plus, and minus, quam is omitted without the ablative of comparison being used. So again line 253 below.
- 245. circiter triginta: a very large proportion, as there was only one centurion to 100 soldiers.
 - 247. supra. The beginning of this story is told in line 115 above.

in os adversum: lit. 'in his face turned towards the enemy,' so 'straight in the face.'

251. millia quindecim. We learn from other writers that these were mostly foreigners, Caesar having issued orders as soon as the victory was secure that his soldiers should spare the Romans, and only slaughter the foreign troops.

256, 257. signa militaria, aquilae: Introd. p. ix. 18-22.

257. L. Domittus, Caesar's inveterate enemy, captured and spared by him at Corfinium, and who fought against him again at Massilia and Pharsalia, was the only important Roman slain in this battle. The great slaughter of Pompeian chieftains came in the flight after the battle of Thapsus, two years later than this.

The day after Pharsalia was the last time Caesar saw his army for more than a year. When he met them next they were in mutiny, even his favourite 10th legion joining. He quelled them with a word.

SECTION XII.

- 4. equitatu: 'by means of his cavalry'; looked on as an instrument and therefore without a preposition.
- 7. Pompeius went by sea to Amphipolis; Caesar by land, along the great Via Egnatia. See Maps 5 and 2.
- 9. Mytllenae: capital of the island of Lesbos. Pompeius was out of reach of Caesar there since he had as yet no fleet. At Mytilenae Pompeius had left his wife Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio, and his younger son Sextus Pompeius, afterwards famous. These now joined him in his flight, and it was in their sight that he was soon after murdered at Pelusium.
- 11. Ciliciam: Pompeius after his conquest of the pirates, B.C. 67, had established many of them in the Cilician towns. Soli, lying between Tarsus and the coast, had been renamed Pompeiopolis after him. See note on line 43 below.
 - 12. Antiochensium: Antioch, the capital of Syria, a Province

which Pompeius, after the war with Mithridates, had added to the empire, now refused to receive him.

- 14. sui: genitive of reflexive pronoun.
- 20. Pelusium: the easternmost town in N. Egypt.
- 21. Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra had been left joint sovereigns of Egypt under the will of their father, Ptolemaeus Auletes, who had died, B.C. 51.
- 25. pro hospitio, etc. Ptolemaeus Auletes had been expelled from Egypt by his subjects for misgovernment in B.C. 58. The senate wished to restore him, but for many years did not dare to intrust any one with so important a task. At length Gabinius, governor of Syria, a friend and protest of Pompeius, without leave from the senate but probably with the countenance of Pompeius, left his Province, marched into Egypt, and restored Ptolemaeus Auletes, B.C. 55. The troops he employed in this service were many of them soldiers who had served under Pompeius in the Mithridatic war. Several of these had been left in Egypt to protect Ptolemaeus' throne, and were now regular residents there, with Egyptian wives. As they were Pompeius' old soldiers, the advisers of young Ptolemaeus feared they would be induced to seize on Egypt in Pompeius' interest and would draw down Caesar's vengeance, so that the safest course was to kill Pompeius.
- 26. Alexandria: the ablative is very unusual as the locative case of a first declension town.
 - 28. liberius: 'more freely' (than was prudent), 'too freely.'
 - 31. Pompeii milites . . . Gabinius, etc. See note on line 25 above.
 - 35. in procuratione: 'in charge,' i.e. holding the office of regent.
 - 37. liberaliter: 'kindly.'
- 43. bello praedonum: the war wherein Pompeius in a few months swept the pirates, who had not less than 1000 ships in all, entirely out of the Mediterranean, was by far the greatest of his achievements. He had special powers given him by a law of the Gabinius mentioned in line 31 above to enable him to do it, B.C. 67. See Introd. pp. xviii. 19 and xxi. 118; and for what became of the pirates, see line 11 above.
 - ordinem duxerat. Introd. p. xi. 64.
- 45. L. Lentulus: the consul of the year before, who had been mainly instrumental in forcing Caesar into war by refusing even to consider the terms he offered, § i. 50.
- 48. Epheso ex fano Dianae: The famous temple of Diana of the Ephesians was one of the 'seven wonders of the world.'
- 49. duobus temporibus. At the beginning of this year, B.C. 48, Metellus Scipio, who was bringing two legions to Pompeius' assistance, was on the point of robbing the temple of Ephesus; but on receiving

word from Pompeius that Caesar had crossed from Italy to Epirus, and that he must hurry to his aid with all speed, he left Ephesus without robbing Diana.

- 52. Aegyptum: although the name of a country, not of a town, the preposition is omitted, because it is looked on as a whole, as one place. Egyptwards' represents it perhaps.
- 57. tria millia ducenti: the proper complement of two legions would have been 12,000. They were only a quarter of their proper strength. See note on § xi. 90.
 - 58. consequi: 'to catch him up.' See note on § ii. 28.
 - 59. fama: abl. See note on § ii. 12.
- 64. quod fasces anteferrentur. That the fasces, the emblem of Roman authority, should be carried before a Roman magistrate in a country not included in the Roman Empire was an insult to the king of Egypt.

anteferrentur: subjunctive because Oratio Obliqua is implied, 'because, said they, the fasces were being carried before him.'

- 71. Etesiis: (£70s, 'year') steady periodical north-west winds blowing for a great part of the year, and rendering, during their continuance, a voyage from Alexandria impossible. Caesar's enemies said that it was the attractions of Cleopatra, and not the winds, that detained him at Alexandria. If so, it was the first time that Caesar ever allowed pleasure to interfere with business.
- 72. controversias regum: the quarrel, mentioned line 20 above, between young Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra.
 - 73. existimans. For present participle see note on § ix. 52.
 - 77. belli Alexandrini. Introd. p. xxv. 240-247.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

The names in black type are those under which the men are most frequently mentioned by Caesar; and by these names they are arranged alphabetically.

Achillas: an Egyptian, tutor to the young king Ptolemaeus: one of the murderers of Pompeius, B.C. 48. Put to death next year for treason. [§ xii. 39-46.]

M' Acilius Glabrio: Caesarian officer (unimportant) [§ ix. 1-18].

Abducillus. See Raucillus (unimportant) [§ ix. 162].

L. Afranius: friend of Pompeius, whose legatus he was in the Sertorian and Mithridatic wars. Consul, B.C. 60. Commanded Pompeius' army in Hispania Citerior, B.C. 54-49. In B.C. 49, he with Petreius, though at first successful against Caesar, had finally to capitulate near Ilerda. Being released, he served against Caesar again at Dyrrhachium and Pharsalia, B.C. 48, and at Thapsus in B.C. 46, in the flight from which battle he was killed. [§§ iii. 85, iv., vi., xi. 88.]

T. Ampius: (unimportant) [§ xii. 47].

Androsthenes: (unimportant) [§ x. 115].

M. Antonius: (Shakespeare's Mark Antony). A dashing officer with Caesar in Gaul. For his part in the outbreak of the Civil War as tribune, B.C. 49, see Introd. p. xxiii. 173-190. In the Civil War, B.C. 49, he marched with Caesar to Brundisium; was left as governor of Italy during the Spanish campaign; in B.C. 48, he brought over the second half of Caesar's army to Greece, and commanded the left wing at Pharsalia. He was again governor of Italy during the Alexandrine War and Caesar's African campaign, B.C. 47-46; and consul with Caesar, B.C. 44. After Caesar's murder he was for a time the greatest man in Rome. In B.C. 43 he formed the second triumvirate with Octavianus (the future Augustus) and Lepidus, and was responsible for the Proscription of Cicero and others; in B.C. 42 he defeated and killed M. Brutus and C. Cassius, Caesar's murderers, at Philippi. Between B.C. 41 and 31 he lived mostly at Alexandria with Cleopatra,

queen of Egypt. Was defeated at Actium by Octavianus, B.C. 31; and returning to Egypt killed himself. [§§ i. 55, viii. 163-254, ix. 21, 232-237, xi. 103.]

M. Calpurnius Bibulus: a narrow-minded, obstinate aristocrat, colleague of Caesar as aedile, praetor, and consul. As consul he was reduced by Caesar to ridiculous insignificance (note on § viii. 40). Commanded Pompeius' fleet, B.C. 49-48, but, having failed to prevent Caesar crossing, killed all he captured, and kept the sea so obstinately all the winter that he died of his exertions. His wife, Porcia, was Cato's daughter, and afterwards married M. Brutus. [§ viii. 40-74, III-140.]

Dec. Brutus: an officer of Caesar in Gaul, won the naval victory over the Veneti of Brittany, B.C. 56. In the Civil War he conducted the siege of Massilia with Trebonius, B.C. 49, in the course of which he gained two sea-fights. Was one of Caesar's murderers, perhaps the most ungrateful of all, being sent by the conspirators to entice him to the senate-house on the Ides of March, B.C. 44. One of Caesar's heirs by his will, and governor of Cisalpine Gaul according to Caesar's appointment, autumn 44. After the formation of the second triumvirate he was arrested and put to death by Antonius' order in trying to escape from his Province, B.C. 43. [§§ iii. 79, v., vii. 24-78, 140.]

Caesar. Introd. pp. xviii-xxvi.

Caninius Rebilus: Caesarian (unimportant) [§ ii. 169-182].

L. Canuleius: Caesarian (unimportant) [§ ix. 55].

Q. Cassius: tribune, B.C. 49, with Antonius. See Introd. p. xxiii. 173-190. After his Spanish campaign, B.C. 49, Caesar left him as governor of Further Spain, which he oppressed so much that he excited an insurrection in favour of the Pompeians. This rebellion was not finally quelled till Caesar put it down in the battle of Munda, B.C. 45. Q. Cassius himself was drowned in B.C. 46 in escaping from Spain to Rome. [§ i. 55-81.]

M. Porcius Cato: Pompeian, the high-principled but obstinate leader of the aristocrats in the senate. Driven out of Sicily by Curio, B.C. 49. Was with Pompeius at Dyrrhachium, but not at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. During the African campaign, B.C. 46, was governor of Utica, where he killed himself after the defeat of Thapsus, being determined not to survive the Republic. [§ iii. 5-19.]

Cleopatra: the beautiful and profligate queen of Egypt. Left by her father, Ptolemaeus Auletes, joint queen with her brother, Ptolemaeus. War breaking out between them, Caesar, on arriving in Egypt, claimed to arbitrate. The Egyptians resented his interference, and besieged Caesar in the palace at Alexandria (Alexandrine War

B.C. 48-47), Cleopatra being with him. Ptolemaeus being killed, she became sole sovereign. Afterwards, in B.C. 41, she won Antonius' heart, who lived with her at Alexandria till they were defeated by Octavianus, at Actium, B.C. 31, after which they returned to Egypt and killed themselves. [§ xii. 20-24, 72-76.]

C. Coponius: Pompeian naval officer (unimportant) [§ viii. 197-220]. Crastinus: an evocatus in Caesar's army, who promised beforehand, and performed, remarkable services at Pharsalia. Killed in the battle. [§ xi. 115-126, 245-251.]

C. Curio: a very able but profligate young noble, who, as tribune, B.C. 50, became Caesar's principal agent in Rome (Introd. p. xxii. 160). In January 49 he fled to Caesar with the two tribunes Antonius and Q. Cassius, and accompanied him as far as Corfinium. With the troops captured at Corfinium he was sent to Sicily first, whence he drove out Cato, and then to Africa, where he besieged Varus in Utica; but his army being cut to pieces by Juba, king of Numidia, who was advancing to relieve the town, he refused to survive it. [§§ ii. 10-15, 86, iii. 5-19.]

L. Decidius Saxa: Caesarian (unimportant) [§ vi. 91].

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus: for his violent opposition to the triumviri, especially Caesar, see Introd. pp. xx. 71-77. Consul, B.C. 54. During the Civil War was an ardent Pompeian. Held Corfinium, in B.C. 49, without orders from Pompeius; tried to desert his men, but was given up by them to Caesar. Being set free, he equipped ships and defended Massilia against Caesar, but escaped before its capture. Killed at Pharsalia B.C. 48. [§§ ii. 59-142; iii. 54, 73-75; v. 1-9; vii. 26, 137-144; xi. 11, 257.]

Cn. Domitius Calvinus: an able legatus of Caesar; one of the few survivors of Curio's defeat in Africa, B.C. 49. In 48 he by able manœuvres prevented Metellus Scipio joining Pompeius at Dyrrhachium. Narrowly escaped surprise by Pompeius after his victory at Petra. Joined Caesar, and commanded the centre at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. Governor of Asia, B.C. 47, but was defeated by Pharnaces, king of Pontus. Served in Caesar's campaign in Africa, B.C. 46. Was twice consul. His life was full of hair-breadth escapes. [§§ x. 71-109; xi. 104.]

Egus. See Raucillus [§ ix. 162].

C. Fabius: one of Caesar's legati, sent on before to force the passes of the Pyrenees and commence the campaign in Spain against Pompeius' generals there till Caesar's arrival, spring B.C. 49. [§§ i. 38; iii. 81-89; iv. 19-25, 92.]

Q. Fufius Calenus, legatus of Caesar in Gaul. During the Civil War, after Caesar's landing in Epirus, he was sent back (Jan. B.C. 48)

to Brundisium with the empty transports to fetch the rest of the army, but was attacked and lost many of them. Afterwards helped Antonius to bring the troops over. Consul B.C. 47. Died B.C. 41. [§§ viii. 61, 111-120, 194; xii. 54.]

- A. Gabinius: the proposer of the Gabinian Law, B.C. 67, which gave Pompeius a special command against the Pirates. Consul, B.C. 58. Governor of Syria, 58-54, and on his own authority restored Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, for which he was banished from Rome. Recalled by Caesar and given a command in Illyricum, B.C. 48, where he died. [§ xii. 31.]
- T. Labienus, as tribune, B.C. 63, passed several measures to further Caesar's aims. He was Caesar's best legatus in his Gallic wars. In B.C. 50 Caesar intrusted him with the government of Cisalpine Gaul. He was the only one of Caesar's officers who deserted to Pompeius on the outbreak of the Civil War; and he became the very bitterest of all against his old commander, being guilty of special treachery and cruelty, [§§ viii. 146; ix. 309.] He fought at Petra, Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda, where he was killed. [§§ i. 18-24; ii. 51; viii. 100, 146-151; ix. 309; xi. 65-78.]
 - D. Laelius: Pompeian naval officer (unimportant) [§ viii. 51].
- L. Lentulus: consul of B.C. 49, brought on the Civil War by refusing on Jan. 1, 49, to put to the vote in the senate the terms offered by Caesar. On a false alarm of Caesar's approach he fled from Rome, leaving the money in the treasury. Was with Pompeius at Petra and Pharsalia. Fled to Egypt and was imprisoned and murdered there, soon after Pompeius, B.C. 48. [§§ i. 50; ii. 37; viii. 30; xi. 206; xii. 45.]
- P. Lentulus Spinther, as consul, B.C. 57, helped to recall Cicero from banishment. An upright noble of no great ability; formerly a friend of Caesar, but joined Pompeius in the Civil War. Was captured with L. Domitius at Corfinium, but set free by Caesar. Served again at Pharsalia, but escaped. [§§ ii. 56-66, 128; xi. 11.]
- M. Aemilius Lepidus, Caesarian, when praetor, B.C. 49, named Caesar dictator. Consul B.C. 46. Succeeded Caesar as Pontifex Maximus. In B.C. 43 formed the second triumvirate with Antonius and Octavianus, but was degraded from it by Octavianus in B.C. 36. Lived in retirement as Pontifex Maximus till B.C. 13. [§ vii. 129.]
- L. Scribonius Libo: an intimate personal friend of Pompeius, through whom Caesar tried to open negotiations at Brundisium, B.C. 49. Commanded most of the Pompeian fleet after Bibulus' death, and tried to blockade Antonius in Brundisium, B.C. 48. Survived the Civil War. Sex. Pompeius, the younger of Pompeius' two sons, married his daughter. [§§ ii. 170-182; viii. 152-180.]

Lucretius Vespillo: Pompeian naval officer (unimportant), [§ viii. 49].

- (1) C. Marcellus: Pompeian. When consul, B.C. 50, he tried to recall Caesar from his Province, but was thwarted by the tribune Curio. He then proposed the vote by which Caesar was deprived of two legions. See Introd. p. xxii. 148-172. Took no part in the Civil War. He married Caesar's great-niece Octavia, sister of Ootavianus (Augustus), and was the father of the promising young Marcellus, Augustus' son-in-law and expected heir, who died B.C. 23, and is commemorated by Virgil, Am. vi. 860-886. [§ i. 1, 40.]
- (2) C. Marcellus: Pompeian, consul, B.C. 49; cousin of (1). Fled from Rome on Caesar's approach in B.C. 49; commanded a squadron of Pompeius's fleet, B.C. 48. [§ ii. 41.]

Lentulus **Marcellinus**: quaestor, B.C. 48, stationed with the ninth legion on the extreme left of Caesar's lines at Petra. Attacked by Pompeius at daybreak and seriously defeated, but saved by arrival of Antonius. [§ ix. 191-237.]

Minuctus Rufus: Pompeian naval officer (unimportant) [§ viii. 49]. L. Nasidius: Pompeian naval officer (unimportant) [§ vii. 24-78].

- L. Aemilius Paulus: consul, B.C. 50; Caesarian; brother of Aemilius Lepidus the triumvir (unimportant) [§ i. 1].
- M. Petreius: Pompeian, defeated and killed Catilina at Pistoria, B.C. 63. Governed Lusitania for Pompeius, B.C. 54-49. Commanded with Afranius at Ilerda, B.C. 49, where he capitulated to Caesar, and was released. Served against him again at Petra and Pharsalia, B.C. 48, and Thapsus, B.C. 46. He escaped from the battle-field of Thapsus with king Juba, but, despairing of safety, they agreed to kill one another. A ferocious old soldier. [§§ iv. and vi.]
- Cn. Pompetus: born B.C. 106, a noble with large estates in Picenum, greatly distinguished himself on Sulla's side in his struggle with the Marians, B.C. 83-81, in Italy, Sicily, and Africa. On his return Sulla gave him the surname Magnus. He quelled the revolt of the Marian Lepidus, B.C. 77. From 76 to 72 he commanded against Sertorius in Spain, which war he finished after Sertorius' murder. On his way back to Rome in 71 he cut off the remnant of Spartacus' gladiators after their defeat by Crassus. As consul with Crassus in 70 he restored to the people and tribunes many of the rights which Sulla had taken away from them and given to the senate. In B.C. 67 he was given supreme command over the whole Mediterranean, by the Gabinian law, against the pirates, whom he swept from the sea in a few months,—the greatest exploit of his life. In B.C. 66, by the Manilian law, he was given a similar command in Asia, to finish the great war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, which Lucullus had begun. He conquered

Mithridates, and organised the Roman empire in Asia, and added to it many Provinces, especially Pontus and Syria (B.C. 66-63). On his return to Rome, being unable to get his acts in Asia confirmed by the senate, or lands given to his veterans, he formed secretly the first triumvirate with Caesar and Crassus (Introd. p. xix. 29). For the rest of his life and character see Introd. pp. xx-xxv.

Cn. Pompeius (filius): the elder of Pompeius' two sons; commanded the Egyptian squadron of Pompeian fleet, B.C. 48, and took or burnt the Caesarian fleets at Oricum and Lissus. Showed great cruelty in Campaign of Munda, B.C. 45, and was killed in flight after that battle. [§ ix. 1-24.]

Ptolemaeus (1), surnamed Auletes, king of Egypt, B.C. 80-51. A disgracefully bad ruler, expelled by his subjects, B.C. 58, but restored with the countenance of Pompeius, but without orders from the senate, in B.C. 55, by A. Gabinius, governor of Syria, who left a force to protect him. On his death he left his kingdom to his son Ptolemaeus and his daughter Cleopatra, who were children. [§ xii. 32.]

Ptolemaeus (2), son of the last named, made war on his sister Cleopatra to get the Egyptian throne alone. During this war Pompeius arrived at Pelusium, and claiming protection was treacherously murdered by Ptolemaeus' advisers. Caesar, on reaching Egypt, claimed to arbitrate between Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra, and the Egyptians, being insulted thereby, besieged Caesar in the palace (Alexandrine War, B.C. 48-47). Ptolemaeus was at first held as a hostage by Caesar, but afterwards released. Defeated by Caesar when his reinforcements arrived, and drowned in the flight. [§ xii. 20-end.]

Raucillus and Egus, cavalry officers, Allobrogian Gauls, sons of Abducillus, fearing punishment from Caesar for fraud, deserted to Pompeius. By their information he was able to attack the unfinished part of Caesar's lines at Petra. Afterwards, by their unintentional information, Domitius Calvinus escaped being surprised by Pompeius. One of them was killed just before Pharsalia. [§§ ix. 162-183, 204; x, 101-109; xi. 34.]

L. Rubrius: Pompeian (unimportant) [§ ii. 129].

Scaeva: Caesarian centurion promoted for bravery at Petra (unimportant) [§ ix. 140-150].

Q. Caccilius Metellus Scipio: consul with Pompeius, B.C. 52, who married his daughter Cornelia. Took an active part in the debates in the senate which forced Caesar into war. Governed Syria oppressively, B.C. 49, and brought from thence two legions, but was prevented by Domitius Calvinus from joining Pompeius at Dyrrhachium. On joining him at Larissa was given equal command with him. Commanded

the centre at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. Commanded the Pompeians at Thapsus, and fell in the flight after that battle. An aristocrat of mean character, great pride and no ability. [§§ viii. 31; x. 87-137; xi. 3-17, 86.]

L. Septimius: a Roman in the Egyptian service who murdered Pompeius (unimportant) [§ xii. 40-45].

P. Servilius: consul with Caesar, B.C. 48 (unimportant) § viii. 2.

L. Staberius: Pompeian governor of Apollonia (unimportant) [§ viii. 82-86].

P. Cornelius Sulla: nephew of the great Sulla, elected consul in B.C. 65, but unseated for bribery. Suspected of complicity in both the conspiracies of Catilina. Commanded right wing of Caesar's army at Pharsalia. Died B.C. 45. [§ xi: 103, 254.]

Thermus: Pompeian governor of Iguvium (unimportant) [§ ii. 8-15].

L. Manlius Torquatus: governor of Oricum, B.C. 48, had to capitulate to Caesar. Being set free served with the Pompeians again, and was killed in the flight after Thapsus, B.C. 46. [§ viii. 76.]

C. Trebonius, as tribune, B.C. 55, passed a law giving Pompeius Spain, Crassus Syria, and Caesar a second term in Gaul, each for five years. Legatus under Caesar in Gaul from B.C. 54. In Civil War was left by Caesar with Dec. Brutus to reduce Massilia during the Ilerda campaign, which he accomplished. Made consul by Caesar, B.C. 45. One of Caesar's murderers, B.C. 44, his part being to keep Antonius talking outside while the murder was going on. Governor of Asia B.C. 43, where he was surprised and killed by Dolabella, whom Antonius sent to take the Province from him. [§§ i. 37; iii. 80; vii.]

C. Triarius: Pompeian (unimportant) [§ xi. 131].

L. Aelius Tubero, Pompeian (unimportant). See Attius Varus [§ iii. 8, 20-27].

Q. Tullius: Caesarian (unimportant) [§ ix. 55].

A. Varro. See P. Vatinius [§ viii. 144].

M. Terentius **Varro**: born B.C. 116. The most learned of the Romans, and wrote a very large number of books. Commanded in South Spain as Pompeius' legatus, in B.C. 49, but his troops went over to Caesar. Served again at Pharsalia, B.C. 48, but was pardoned and employed by Caesar to collect and arrange the first public library in Rome. Died, B.C. 28, aged eighty-nine. [§ iv. 5.]

P. Attius Varus: Pompeian governor of Auximum in Picenum in B.C. 49, whose troops deserted him on Caesar's approach. He fled to Africa, and took possession of the Province, not allowing Tubero, the governor named by the senate, to land. Defeated and besieged in Utica by Curio till the latter was killed by king Juba. Fought at

Thapsus in 46 and Munda in 45, in which battle he was killed. [§§ ii. 18-35; iii. 20-27.]

Sex. Quintilius Varus: Pompeian (unimportant) [§ ii. 129].

P. Vatinius: Caesarian, whose negotiations for peace with the Pompeian A. Varro were violently interrupted by Labienus [§ viii. 143.]

L. Vibullius Rufus, a senator, twice captured and released by Caesar in B.C. 49, first at Corfinium then at Herda. Being sent by Caesar to negotiate in Epirus, Jan. 48, he gave Pompeius the first notice of Caesar's landing, and thus helped him to save Dyrrhachium. [§§ ii. 129; iii. 53; iv. 1.]

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